

The British Empire & Common- wealth

The Elizabethan Pioneers

In 1584 Hakluyt wrote his *Discourse on Western Planting*, which was propaganda on the behalf of colonial settlement. Englishmen had already shown their mettle by their voyages to all parts of the globe; the time had come for colonization overseas and there was ample scope in the New World for this. In Hakluyt's eyes the matter was pressing. It was essential for the English to get there before other nations forestalled them. He wrote: 'That speedy planting in diverse fit places is most necessary upon these last Western discoveries for fear of the danger of being prevented by other nations which have the like intention.' He thought that colonies would enable the British to attack their greatest enemy, Spain, more effectively, and especially the heart of Spanish power which lay in the New World, from which came the flood of silver.

Hakluyt was an enthusiast and in his *Discourse* he gave many reasons why colonization in America should be attempted. He certainly gave no arguments against it. We may note some of his more interesting remarks in this respect.

This enterprise may stay the Spanish King from flowing over all the face of that waste fermament of America if we seat and plant there in time and England, possessing the purposed place of planting, Her Majesty may, by the benefit of the seat, having won good and royal havens, have plenty of excellent trees for masts, of goodly timber to build ships and to make great navies, of pitch, tar, hemp and all things incident for a Navy Royal and that for no price and without money or request. How easy a matter may it be for this realm, swarming at this day with valiant youths, rusting and hurtful by lack of employment, and having good makers of cable and all sorts of cordage and the best and most cunning shipwrights of the world, to be lords of all those seas and to spoil Philip's Indian Navy and to deprive him of yearly passage of his treasure to Europe and consequently to abate the pride of Spain and of the supporter of the great anti-Christ of Rome. And to pull him down in equality to his neighbour princes and consequently to cut off the common mischiefs that come to all Europe by the peculiar abundance of his Indian treasure and this without difficulty.

Hakluyt set the pattern for later promoters of colonies who wrote about the attractions of their projected colonies in the same enthusiastic way. They exaggerated the possibilities and minimized the difficulties that existed. In their particular colony the soil was always fertile, the climate perfect, the natives docile and willing

Richard Hakluyt

to help the incoming settlers. Nothing was said about the difficulties of opening up a new land, the clearing of forests, the establishment of homes, and the hard labour needed to set the colony on its feet. All these practical difficulties were omitted or glossed over by these early publicists for settlement in colonies.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH

The great name in Elizabethan attempts at colonization is Walter Raleigh. He had been associated, with his half-brother Humphrey Gilbert, in the unsuccessful attempt in 1578 to make a settlement in the New World, and when Gilbert set out on his last voyage in 1583, Raleigh had contributed £2000 to provide a vessel. In 1584 the patent, which had been granted Gilbert to search for and occupy with English settlers lands 'not actually possessed of any Christian prince or people', was transferred to Raleigh. Excluding the Newfoundland settlement, Raleigh had the right to 600 miles of the North American coast, and he decided to make a settlement further to the south.

In 1584 he sent out a reconnaissance under two sea captains, Amadas and Barlow. They approached the North American coast via the West Indies and made a landing on the North Carolina coast. They brought back a glowing description of this land, of its fertility and its natives, whom they described as mild, curious and friendly. The two seamen carelessly omitted to point out that the difficulties of navigation were considerable, and that they had not found a suitable harbour, a fact which made conditions very difficult for the colony set up later on Roanoke Island. Raleigh now took steps to get his title strengthened by an Act of Parliament and to win support from influential people. Queen Elizabeth I, in return for the compliment of the name Virginia, which was to be given to the new settlement, knighted Raleigh, and lent a royal ship for the expedition. Many of the subscribers to the expedition were gentlemen, such as Sir Francis Walsingham, Sir Richard Grenville, or merchants such as William Sanderson of the City of London. The expedition hoped to recover some of its expenses by plundering Spanish ships at sea on its way to North America.

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THE ATTEMPTS TO SETTLE VIRGINIA, 1585 AND 1587

In April 1585 the expedition under the command of Sir Richard Grenville crossed to the West Indies, where they collected seeds, roots and plants from the Spanish island of Hispaniola. They reached the mainland of North America on 20 June. The first few weeks were spent in exploring the neighbourhood, which included the sand reef islands and the mainland beyond. By the end of July it had been decided to make the settlement at the north end of the island of Roanoke, and by September the ships of the expedition had set sail for England, leaving the settlers under the command of Ralph Lane. Lane was a soldier by profession and had experience of the Irish Wars and the plantations or settlements of English in that country.

Lane built a fort on the northern part of the island, close to an Indian village. The settlers seriously neglected the important business of growing their own food, most of them spending their time in searching for gold. The plants, fruits and seed corn brought in the ships had perished on the voyage, and more and more the colonists became dependent upon the Indians for food. They got the Indians to sow some ground for them in the spring of 1586.

A fairly extensive exploration was made of the mainland in the autumn of 1585 and during the spring of 1586. This took the settlers to Albermarle Sound and the southern shores of Chesapeake Bay, where their surveys showed that the mainland would have been a better place for settlement than Roanoke Island. Lane, influenced by the tale of precious metals at the headwaters of the river Roanoke, took an expedition up this river. This led to the first clash with the Indians who were now becoming restive owing to the constant demands by the colonists for food. Lane's powers of discipline kept his colonists together in face of this Indian hostility and he was even able to break up the Indian conspiracy for the time being, but as the Indians were now systematically denying them food the settlers were hard put to survive.

By the middle of 1586 the infant colony was tottering and was anxiously awaiting reinforcements of men and supplies from home. Raleigh had planned to send out a relief expedition early in 1586

The Attempts to settle Virginia, 1585 and 1587

but owing to the need for shipping for the war with Spain it was delayed and did not reach Virginia until the colonists had abandoned it. In 1586 Drake, after his raid on the Spanish West Indies, was on his way home by way of the Florida Channel leading out of the Caribbean into the Atlantic. He passed up the coast of eastern America and made contact with the beleaguered colony of Roanoke. Drake offered Lane a small ship to transfer his colony to the shores of Chesapeake Bay. This offer was accepted, but difficulties intervened, with heavy storms at sea and the reluctance of the settlers to stay there any longer, now that this fleet under Drake had appeared. Their confidence had vanished, and on 18 June Drake took them off and brought them back to England.

In spite of this failure, preparations were made at the end of 1586 for a further attempt. The experience of 1585-6 was not lost on Raleigh, who now decided to alter the military character of the first settlement and instead to encourage settlers who were prepared to bring out their families to cultivate farms which would be granted to them. It was hoped success would follow this change because the colonists would have much more of a stake in the colony and would not be merely paid servants, as those of the first settlement had been.

In 1587 about 150 colonists were assembled, some of them with wives and children. The new settlement was under the command of John White, who had been a member of the first colony. The intention was to make a settlement on the shores of Chesapeake Bay. Owing to disagreements between the settlers and the sailors in command of the ships, the colonists did not go to the intended settlement at Chesapeake Bay, but instead were all landed on the island of Roanoke. In August 1587 White returned to England to bring out reinforcements of settlers and supplies. When the relieving expedition eventually arrived in 1591 all the colonists had disappeared. It is thought that they had moved to the mainland where they may have mingled with some Indian tribe, but their exact fate is unknown. Thus ended the attempt of Raleigh to plant a colony on the mainland of North America.

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RALEIGH AND GUIANA

Raleigh was interested in establishing a tropical colony within the Spanish American empire, whereby England might win a supply of gold and silver such as Spain already possessed. His attention was drawn to the area between the rivers Amazon and Orinoco. From the accounts he had received of this area, he was convinced that it was a rich gold-bearing area. Another idea entered into his plans for a colony in Guiana, that the natives having suffered from the domination and exploitation by Spain, would be ready and willing to accept the overlordship of England and to help the colony against the common enemy, Spain.

From various sources Raleigh collected information about the celebrated 'El Dorado' who was believed to exist somewhere east of the Andes. The Spaniards after their seizure of the treasures of Peru had made numerous attempts to locate this king about whom many legends were circulating, to the effect that in the interior there was a ruler known as El Dorado, the 'Gilded One', who powdered himself over with gold dust and bathed ceremonially in a lake. His capital was named Manoa. One notable searcher for this city was a Spaniard, Don Antonio de Berrio, Governor of the Island of Trinidad off the coast of Guiana. His explorations had taken him into the interior along the valleys of the Orinoco, and its tributaries. He was a firm believer in the existence of the ruler and his riches. Early in 1595 Raleigh led his expedition to Guiana; his intention was to establish good relations with the Indian on the mainland and to find a route to the city of Manoa. He hoped to take over this region and establish Queen Elizabeth's authority there. It would thus, so he hoped, form the nucleus of an English tropical empire, right on the Spaniards' own door-step.

At Trinidad Raleigh captured the Governor, Berrio, and went some way up to the river Orinoco and its tributary the Caroni. Raleigh was particularly careful to conceal his interest in gold from the natives, who, if they had discovered this, would have realized that the English were no different from the hated Spaniards. Raleigh treated the chiefs he met with courtesy and persuaded them to accept the protection of Queen Elizabeth of England.

Raleigh and Guiana

On his return to England, Raleigh published an account of his voyage entitled *The Discovery of the Large, Rich and Beautiful Empire of Guiana*. He gave an extravagant account of the prospects in Guiana, which he described as an unspoilt and untouched country, ready to be taken over by England, and which would provide employment for soldiers besides gold and tropical produce. In spite of this propaganda little support was forthcoming for a colony in Guiana, but Raleigh kept the idea alive by sending out at intervals small expeditions of reconnaissance and investigation. To his pioneer efforts can be attributed the settlement of English colonies on this coast in the early years of the seventeenth century. Finally in 1617, Raleigh came back to Guiana in the desperate attempt to restore himself to James I's favour and win pardon by his promise to reveal a wonderful gold-mine.

Although Raleigh failed to establish a permanent colony either in Virginia or Guiana he has an important place in the history of English settlement overseas. For he, more than any other Elizabethan, emphasized the need for permanency: the settlers must be prepared to cut their ties with their Motherland and to make homes for themselves and their descendants in the New World.

ARGUMENTS IN FAVOUR OF COLONIZATION

By the beginning of the seventeenth century, when the first wave of English colonization started, a considerable body of arguments existed in favour of settlement overseas. While some of these arguments were trivial, many of them were important and influenced the development of English colonization down to the eighteenth century.

The conversion of the natives to Christianity had a prominent place in much of the propaganda made for colonies, but very little was done in the first hundred years of the British empire to put it into practice. The great age of Protestant missionary work in the British empire did not start until the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. The early English propagandists for colonies may have been influenced by the example of the Spaniards and

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Portuguese in their empires, where the various Catholic Orders had considerable success in their missionary work.

A powerful motive was the hope of finding gold and silver as the Spaniards had done in their American empire. Rising prices in the sixteenth century made it urgent for the European nations to increase their stock of precious metals. How strong was this motive is shown by the excitement raised by the alleged discovery of gold-bearing ore by Frobisher's expedition in search of a North-west passage. But by bitter experience the early colonists learned that the search for gold was likely to lead to failure in colonization. First things had to come first, that is, the newly founded colony must first make sure of its food supply.

A favourite argument in favour of colonization was that it would strengthen English sea power for the defence of the realm in time of war; national policy therefore demanded an abundance of sturdy seamen. Hakluyt wrote that the establishment of overseas colonies 'will be for the great increase, maintenance and safety of our Navy, and especially of great shipping which is the strength of our realm for it is the long voyages that harden seamen and open unto them the secrets of navigation'. Colonies in America would provide a long haul across the Atlantic and so give excellent training to our seamen. Likewise fishing off the Great Banks of Newfoundland which provided salt fish for export to the Catholic countries of western Europe was also a nursery for seamen. Gilbert pointed out that the trade did not develop because the English had no firm base in the New World from which to organize their fishing, but this could be remedied if we set up colonies there.

Colonization was frequently advocated because of over-population. It was thought (quite wrongly in fact) that England was much over-populated. Colonies would give employment to people who otherwise had nothing before them except idleness and a life of crime. The sixteenth century was a time of economic upheaval, and those who wrote about these matters at the time saw before them much idleness, misery, destitution and crime, largely due to the inability to adjust to changing economic conditions. Because of the flow of gold and silver from the New World, there had been a sharp rise in prices and rents which pressed heavily on the poorer

Arguments in favour of Colonization

people in England; there was also unemployment caused by enclosure of land for sheep farming, which lessened the amount of labour needed on the land. The export markets for England's cloth in western Europe, owing to the disturbance caused by the revolt of the Netherlands and the wars that followed, had considerably decreased. It was the desire to deal with the unfortunate results of these economic forces that prompted the idea of settling the unemployed in colonies, followed soon after by the less desirable idea of the transportation of criminals overseas.

Writers on colonies maintained that they would provide England with a cheap and regular supply of essential materials such as masts, timber, pitch, tar, hemp, flax for the upkeep of a fighting navy and merchant marine; dye-stuffs for her cloth industry; salt for her fishing industry. Luxury goods like silk, wine, fruit, sugar and tobacco could also be expected. Without any real proof, propagandists argued that because the proposed colonies were in the same latitudes as those European, African and Asian countries which produced these raw materials, they could equally well grow or provide them. They also had little or no knowledge about the cost of producing these commodities in the new colonies, or very little idea of the difficulty in starting production of them.

There was considerable anxiety in England in the second half of the sixteenth century about her export markets, which had suffered from the wars in western Europe. It was thought that colonies would provide a more reliable export market, and in a world where markets at this time were very limited this argument in favour of founding colonies carried a good deal of weight. But it was not realized that the native inhabitants of North America had no purchasing power which would enable them to buy our manufactured goods, especially our cloth. Nevertheless, some writers showed remarkable optimism as this extract from Hakluyt shows: 'And seeing the savages of the Grand Bay are greatly delighted with any cap or garment made of coarse woollen cloth, their country being cold and sharp in the winter, it is manifest we should find great utterance of our cloth.'

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THE PERSONAL FACTOR IN COLONIZATION

Plans for colonization could not be put into effect without the work of individuals. It must be remembered that settlement overseas could not have been achieved without the courage and endurance of countless English men and women. Many privations and hardships had to be endured; the breaking of old ties in one's native land, the voyage overseas and the making of a new home in a strange land were stern tests for the colonists. Why therefore were individuals willing to migrate overseas? The reasons were chiefly economic. For intending settlers of all social classes there was the attraction of land. The chance of abundant land particularly appealed to the poorer emigrants; it was the prospect of becoming a landowner, something which had been denied them at home, that drew them to the New World. For those settlers drawn from the better-off ranks of English society the same arguments applied; by migrating to America they hoped at least to maintain their fortunes and social position, if not to improve them. To these economic arguments for emigration must be added those of religious and political liberty. Many settlers were attracted to the New World by the belief that the new society there would give them freedom to worship God in their own way and the opportunity to develop their own kind of government.

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THE FIRST SETTLEMENTS IN NORTH AMERICA

THE PLYMOUTH AND LONDON VIRGINIA COMPANIES

Raleigh had failed to plant a colony in Virginia, but he still had the legal title to 1200 miles of the North American coast. In 1602 he

The Plymouth and London Virginia Companies

sent out two ships to make a reconnaissance and to trade. He did the same in 1603, but later that year was tried for his part in the 'Main' plot. His condemnation as a traitor lost him his grant of Virginia.

In 1606 three groups of merchants interested in the trading and fishing possibilities of North America petitioned James I for a royal charter. The London group were merchants chiefly connected with the East India, Muscovy and Levant Companies; the two others belonged to Plymouth and Bristol. The Plymouth merchants were influential and included Sir Humphrey Gilbert's sons and a colonial pioneer, Sir Ferdinand Gorges.

Two companies were formed to colonize Virginia: the Plymouth Company, whose field of operations was the northern part of 'North Virginia'; and the London and Bristol merchants' Company which took 'South Virginia' as its area of settlement. James I granted a charter in April 1606. The Crown took no financial responsibility whatever, but it did concern itself with the general government and judicial system to be set up in Virginia. There was to be a royal Council resident in London which would supervise the officials in the settlements overseas, and to some extent the trading operations of the companies as well.

The Plymouth Company started first and sent out an expedition to the coast of Maine and made a settlement on the Kennebec river. Unfortunately, this colony lasted little more than a year and the settlers returned home. The Plymouth group took no further action in overseas settlement until 1620, when the Pilgrim Fathers, who founded New Plymouth, were the revivers of activity.

THE SETTLEMENT OF VIRGINIA, 1607-12

Early in 1607 the Virginia Company of London sent out an expedition in three ships to Virginia. They sailed into Chesapeake Bay and up the James river, where they selected a site for the new colony; the town and fort was called Jamestown in honour of King James I. Some of the lessons of Raleigh's two failures had been learnt: the 1607 instructions said that a third of the colonists were to be employed planting corn and other crops, thus avoiding

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dependence for food on the Indians, who were to be treated with consideration. Some of the colonists were to survey the James river for minerals and a passage through the mainland. Nobody was to be allowed to write home in such a way as to discourage other settlers from coming out. Yet the colonists were in many ways unsatisfactory; they were still obsessed by the desire for gold and silver. The site of the new colony, James Fort, or Jamestown, proved to be unhealthy and unsuitable. There was a quarrelsome spirit and co-operation between the settlers was bad; disease made its appearance and numbers began to dwindle. Fortunately a dominant character, Captain John Smith, took charge of the discontented settlers.

In January 1608 reinforcements arrived from home and somehow or other the little colony held out through the year 1608 into 1609. At home, frantic publicity was promoted by the Company, which made intensive efforts to bring in more people and capital to forward the development of the colony. In the autumn of 1609 some 400 fresh colonists arrived. The winter of 1609-10, known in the history of Virginia as the 'starving time', very nearly proved fatal to the colony. The new arrivals had brought little food or supplies with them and there was already insufficient food in the colony. During the winter months the settlers remained within the fort, afraid to venture afield because of the Indians. In May 1610 only sixty survivors remained and Sir Thomas Gates, who had been sent out as Governor, agreed to take them out of the colony to Newfoundland. But on his way down the James river he met Lord Delaware with a relief expedition. This saved the colony from total abandonment; but though re-established by Lord Delaware its existence was still precarious. It was under the governorship of Sir Thomas Dale, from 1611 to 1616, that the colony turned the corner. Dale was remembered for his ferocity of government, but this was undoubtedly necessary; his discipline made the colonists cultivate their lands, instead of wasting their energies searching for minerals that did not exist.

The experience of the first five or six years disappointed the colony's promoters. They had hoped that within a short time the colony would be sending back wealthy cargoes to this country, in

The Settlement of Virginia, 1607-12

the same way as the East India Company's ships had quickly brought back valuable commodities from the East. This desire for quick profits had a bad effect in the early years of the colony, leading to a dissipation of the energies of the settlers. Many of them were looking for precious metals, some were cutting timber, others digging up roots; anything that might be sent back to England.

CONSOLIDATION OF THE COLONY, 1612-24

The year 1612 was the decisive one. In this year the Company received a new charter which placed control of affairs in the hands of a Governor and Council elected by a majority of the stockholders; the Virginia Company now resembled a chartered trading company like the East India Company. The stockholders were to meet in four general courts each year where they had the power to make laws and ordinances for the government of the Company in the colony, subject only to the limitation that these laws must not be contrary to the laws and statutes of England. The other event in 1612 was tobacco growing, first attempted by the settler, John Rolfe, who had married the Indian princess Pocahontas. The success of this experiment was decisive; the tobacco that was shipped back to England in 1614 made a good price. Soon the economy of the colony centred round the growing of tobacco.

With the successful introduction of a crop that would pay its way, it became clearer that the future of the colony depended upon attracting people to come in and cultivate the land, rather than attempting to develop the colony in the interests of a trading company at home. Free land, or land at a cheap rate, was a great incentive now that it was realized that tobacco could be profitably grown, and new settlers soon began to arrive in the colony. In 1616 the Company offered to subscribers of £12. 10s. of stock 50 acres of land, and two years later the offer was extended to anybody who would undertake to bring himself and his family to Virginia. The immigrant could therefore get 50 acres for himself and each member of his household and this system brought in numerous colonists which kept the settlement from collapsing. But even so its population grew very slowly. In 1616 there were not more than

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400 settlers; in 1625 about 1000 remained out of the 6000 or so who had gone to the colony.

In 1618, in order to allay discontent among the colonists, the Company sent out as Governor Sir George Yardley with a new scheme of government, of a kind well known to the colonists before they left their English home. It gave them a representative assembly; the proclamation of the Governor said that 'In order that they might have a hand in the governing of themselves, a General Assembly should be held yearly once, whereat were to be present the Governor and Council with two burgesses freely to be elected by the inhabitants thereof. This Assembly to have the power to make and ordain whatsoever laws and orders should by them be thought good and profitable for our subsistence.' As a result, the first representative assembly on the American mainland met at Jamestown on 30 July 1619. There were present the Governor and his Council and twenty-two burgesses, the latter elected by the freeholders of the eleven settlements of the colony. They met to make laws for the colony and these laws were based on English Common law.

In 1624 James I dissolved the Company and Virginia became a royal province with a royal Governor appointed by the Crown. The elected assembly continued to meet, although the idea of it was not very acceptable to James I who was no lover of Parliaments. But by 1640 the principle had been accepted, and in 1642 Sir William Berkeley, the Governor, was instructed to call an assembly 'As formerly, once a year or oftener'.

BERMUDA

In 1609 Sir George Somers sailing to Virginia was shipwrecked on an unknown island off the east coast of North America. The Virginia Company, thinking this island might prove a useful haven on the way to Virginia, undertook its settlement in 1612. After some difficulties the colony prospered and by 1629 had 2000 inhabitants. In 1619 it was granted an assembly elected by the freeholders of the nine parishes of the islands and this legislature is today the oldest surviving example from the first British empire.

The colony was ruled by its proprietors, the 'London Company

Bermuda

for the Somers Islands', from 1615 until 1684 when the Company, which was unpopular with the colonists, was dissolved. The Somers Islands, or Bermuda, as they were known from the middle of the seventeenth century onwards, then became a royal colony. From Bermuda the early colonization of the Bahamas group of islands to the south was attempted by Captain William Sayle in 1656.

THE COLONY OF MARYLAND

In 1632 the settlement of Maryland was planted on the northern frontiers of Virginia by Lord Baltimore, a Catholic nobleman. Previously he had tried to colonize Newfoundland but without success, owing to the harsh climate. For Maryland he received a grant from King Charles I, giving him a territory extending from the fortieth degree of North latitude to the south bank of the Potomac river. The colony was named in honour of Queen Henrietta Maria, wife of Charles I. Baltimore wanted chiefly to set up a colony for Roman Catholics, but he was prepared to accept people of other religions.

The manner of foundation of this colony differed from that of Virginia. Virginia had been started by the efforts of a trading company, working under a royal charter, but Maryland was the first of the proprietary colonies in North America. The proprietary colony resembled the grant of land by the feudal kings of the Middle Ages; the person to whom the grant was made recognized the authority of the sovereign by an annual performance of some service, but apart from that he had the widest possible powers over the land granted him and over those settlers who came into this land. The proprietor exercised complete power in the grant of land to his sub-tenants and in the appointment of all officials. Lord Baltimore was granted nearly ten million acres; the official title conferred on him by the charter was 'absolute lord and proprietary of Maryland and Avalon, Lord Baron of Baltimore'.

In Maryland they set up the framework of an England that was fast passing away. Thus the important tenants of the Baltimores were granted baronial manors with the customary manorial courts. These estates might be granted for life or for three lives or longer,

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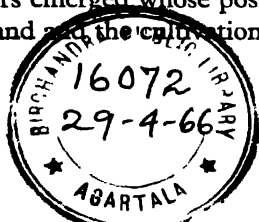
providing the holders paid the proprietor the quit rents. Lower in the scale were the yeoman farmers, to whom the proprietor leased farms for a period of years. The charter gave the lord proprietor the right to make any laws he wished 'with the advice, assent and approbation of the freemen of the Province'; these laws had to be in agreement with the laws of England.

THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND

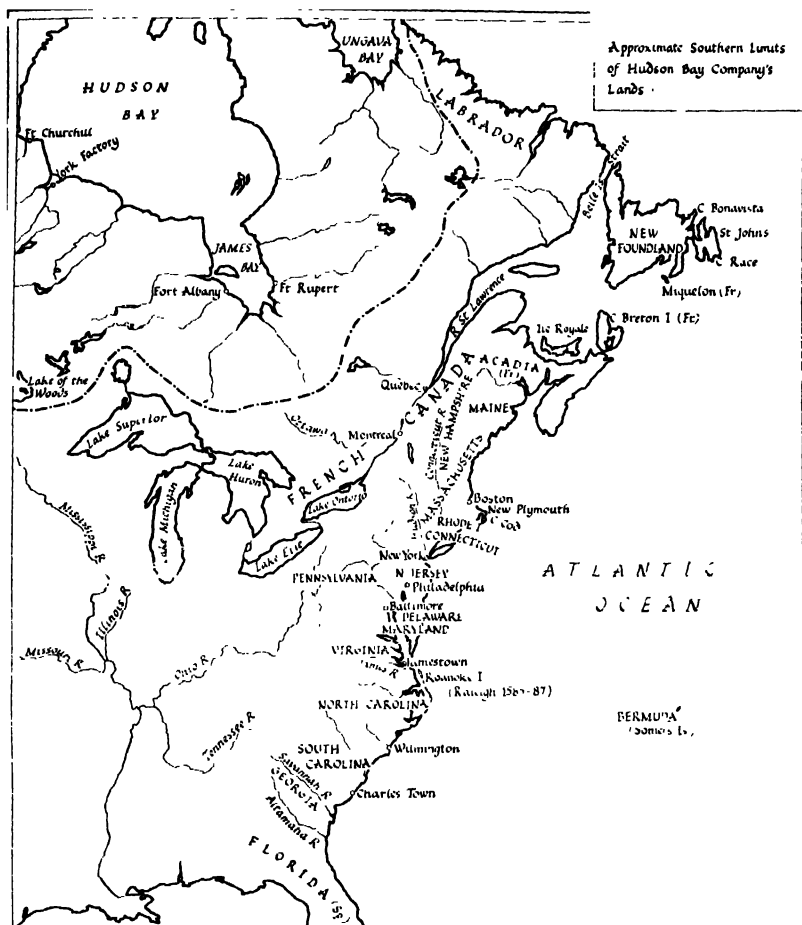
What kind of society developed in Virginia and Maryland? Both had one thing in common: they were predominantly agrarian in character. Their most important crop was tobacco and this influenced the layout of the settlements considerably. Tobacco-growing quickly exhausts the soil and therefore a considerable extent of fresh land is necessary for the planter. The quest for new tobacco lands brought the Virginia settlers into conflict with the Indians further inland. Secondly, in this new country communications were very difficult. Movement was easiest by water and therefore most plantations were alongside the rivers and creeks, where water transport could take out their tobacco and bring in goods from Europe.

Both colonies had a dominant ruling class of great planters; they also had a more numerous class of small yeoman farmers. Some of the original settlers in Virginia were people of good family and in many cases had enough capital to buy and stock large estates. On the other hand, many of the immigrants were poor people, who had come to improve their condition. Numerous settlers came as indentured servants; between 1635 and 1680 about 1500 of them arrived each year in the colony. A master paid the cost of the passage out and in return the indentured servant agreed to work for him from four to seven years. At the end of this term of service they became free citizens of the colony and were able to take up land on advantageous terms.

In the second half of the seventeenth century the social structure of both colonies became clearly defined. A class of wealthy planters emerged whose position rested on their ownership of the best land and the cultivation of their large estates by slave labour.



The Social Structure of Virginia and Maryland



MAP I. THE ENGLISH COLONIES IN NORTH AMERICA, 1607-1732

Negro slaves had been known in the early days of the colony, but it was not until after 1660 that they were imported into Virginia and Maryland in any numbers. The small yeoman farmer and the indentured servant setting up on his own after he had served his time found it difficult to compete with the large plantation run by slave labour.

The successful Virginia planter modelled his life to a great extent on that of the English gentleman. He showed an interest

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in the things of the mind, was concerned about his own and his children's education, and kept in touch with the outside world. He was interested in political life, and Virginia, although an aristocratic and mainly a royalist colony, was foremost in the early political life of the American colonies. The planters were eager to serve as Justices of the Peace, as Colonels of the Militia, and in their local government of the Vestries. They sought the honour of a seat in the Legislative Assembly, where they showed, by their resentment of any high-handed acts of the Governor, that they were as politically conscious as the parliamentary opponents of James I and Charles I in England.

THE NORTHERN SEABOARD

On the northern part of the American coast over which the Plymouth branch of the Virginia Company had colonizing rights little had been done between 1608 and 1620 except to send out fishing voyages. In 1614 Captain John Smith of Virginia fame made a survey of the coast of Maine. On his return he wrote *A Description of New England* in which he emphasized the value of the fishing grounds. He said that these could bring England wealth in the same way as they had enriched the Dutch; he recommended the country he had surveyed 'to men that hath great spirits but small means'. He also gave it the name which stuck to it ever afterwards, that of New England. In 1620 Sir Ferdinand Gorges took over the existing rights of the Plymouth Company and incorporated a new group, mostly noblemen and gentlemen, which was called 'The Council for New England'. This was a proprietary organization, not a joint-stock company. Gorges was making ready to settle in New England when the celebrated voyage of the Pilgrim Fathers took place in 1620.

THE PILGRIM FATHERS, 1620

The settlers carried by the *Mayflower* were humble folk who had left England in 1609 and settled in Holland for reasons of religion. They had wished to form their own independent congregation for worship outside the control of the Church of England. But

The Pilgrim Fathers, 1620

Holland had disappointed them and they decided to settle in the New World, where they could retain their Englishness and worship as they wished. The reason given for leaving Holland was that there they found that their children were growing away from them and acquiring foreign habits. Some London merchants who had concessions from the Virginia Company gave them licence to settle in the New World, on the coast to the north of Virginia and in the region of the Delaware river. The *Mayflower* sailed on 16 September 1620, with 102 settlers. By an error of navigation the *Mayflower*, instead of reaching the Virginia coast, made a landfall much farther to the north, off Cape Cod in New England. The Pilgrim Fathers decided to settle here, although they had no legal right to do so. Exploring the coast, they found a place for their first settlement and here New Plymouth was founded.

The disasters experienced in Virginia in 1607 were repeated in the first winter at New Plymouth; over half of the settlers died through hardships of one sort and another. Fortunately the few Indians in the neighbourhood proved friendly; two or three who had met Englishmen before on fishing voyages and who could speak a little English now came to their aid. They showed them how to sow Indian corn or maize and how to fish in the waters. By the autumn of 1621 the colony had just managed to survive and the first 'Thanksgiving' was held. Although the colony of the Pilgrim Fathers at New Plymouth has caught the imagination of historians, it was not a very large or important settlement. It flourished in a modest sort of way and by 1637 it had nearly 600 settlers; by 1642 the number had risen to nearly 2000. Its prosperity was based on fur-gathering and a small trade in corn and fish. In 1691 it was absorbed by the larger colony of Massachusetts.

THE COLONY OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY, 1629

The attempted settlement in 1622 of New England by the Council for New England, under the inspiration of Sir Ferdinand Gorges, was a failure. It was not till 1629-30 that a major settlement was made in this part of the world by the Massachusetts Bay Company. This Company, which far surpassed other colonizing organizations

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of the time in its efficiency, influence and the number of settlers it took out, had been granted a charter by Charles I in 1629.

The most influential people in this enterprise were Puritan gentlemen of middling estates. Their reasons for undertaking this elaborate settlement may be described as partly political, partly religious and partly economic. Their political and religious motives were closely linked; the Puritan gentlemen disliked the tendencies towards arbitrary government of both James I and Charles I and perhaps even more they disliked the discipline of the Anglican Church and its bishops. They wished for a different form of Church organization, without bishops and with more freedom and influence for the lay congregation. They had already unsuccessfully tried to modify the organization of the Church of England and they now determined to do this in a new land. Finally there was the important economic factor: abundant land in North America would enable them to maintain their accustomed place in government and society. Many of these Puritan gentlemen had been to the universities, either of Oxford or more particularly Cambridge, or in many cases had studied at the Inns of Court. They influenced others to emigrate with them including a number of Puritan clergy, yeomen, and peasants, particularly from East Anglia. Within a year 2000 people had emigrated and within the next ten years 20,000 more. With such organization, such determined purpose and belief in the rightness of what they were doing, the colony and its settlers could hardly fail.

By the end of the year 1630, seventeen ships brought in the first 2000 settlers. These settled along the river Charles where Boston was set up on the estuary of this river. The settlers split into small groups and made small town settlements in the neighbourhood of Boston. Many of them were named after the English towns and villages of East Anglia and the west of England. Like the other colonies, many difficulties and much sickness were experienced at the start; several hundreds of the new settlers died in the first winter. But in Massachusetts the inflow was so strong, and the settlers themselves so imbued with serious purpose, that within a year or two the colony had established itself. An indication of the serious attitude of the settlers was given by Thomas

The Colony of Massachusetts Bay, 1629

Dudley, who reporting to the Countess of Lincoln in March 1631 wrote:

If any come hither to plant for worldly ends that can live well at home, he commits an error of which he will soon repent him. But if for spiritual, and that no particular obstacle hinder his removal, he may find here what may well content him, viz. materials to build, fuel to burn, ground to plant, seas and rivers to fish in, a pure air to breathe in, good water to drink, till wine or beer can be made; which together with the cows, hogs and goats brought hither, already may suffice for food. For as for fowl and venison they are dainties here as well as in England. For clothes and bedding they must bring them with them till time and industry produce them here. In a word, we yet enjoy little to be envied but endure much to be pitied in sickness and mortality of our people. If any godly men out of religious ends will come over to help us in the good work we are about, I think they cannot dispose of themselves nor their estates more to God's glory and the furtherance of their own reckoning; but they must not be of the poorer sort yet for diverse years. For we have found by experience that they have hindered not furthered the work and for profane and debauched persons, their oversight in coming hither is wondered at, where they shall find nothing to content them.

The form of government set up in Massachusetts was far from being a democracy. Instead there was a concentration of power in the hands of the Puritan gentlemen and clergy. John Winthrop, one of the leaders of the colony, did not believe in democracy at all. Membership of the Church, which followed the ideas of John Calvin, was essential for political rights. Those who did not believe in and belong to this Church had no political rights. With the vote thus restricted to a small body of the 'elect', Massachusetts Bay developed into a 'Holy Commonwealth', governed by a small ruling class, an aristocracy of the pious. This exclusive form of government did not satisfy the many settlers who arrived after 1630.

THE COLONY OF RHODE ISLAND

The founding of new colonies resulted from the growth of population and the political and religious differences that had arisen. Winthrop and his colleagues insisted on stricter conformity than had been demanded by their old enemy, the Church of England. The Reverend Roger Williams, a clergyman who held liberal and

The First Settlements in North America

progressive views, opposed the established authorities in Church and State in Massachusetts. He denied that the civil magistrates could punish people for not keeping the Sabbath Day, and also said that the New England Churches must proclaim their complete separation from the Church of England. The thing which roused greater opposition than either of these ideas was his criticism of the treatment of the Indians and their land. Williams said that neither the Crown nor the colony had the right to grant away the lands of the Indians and to purchase the Indians' land the colonists must have a proper legal title. All these views were most unpalatable to the ruling group. As a result Williams was banished from the colony in October 1635. He determined to set up another colony elsewhere and he went south to the district known as Providence. Within a few years other towns were founded in this Rhode Island area by exiles from Massachusetts who believed in democratic government and toleration in religious matters. In 1644 Williams returned to England, where he secured from Parliament a charter incorporating the Providence plantations; this led to the separate colony of Rhode Island in 1647 which was a federation of the various towns and settlements that had been set up by these exiles from Massachusetts.

THE COLONIES OF CONNECTICUT (1637) AND NEW HAVEN (1638)

The colony of Connecticut was founded by an overflow of settlers from Massachusetts. The influences behind this new settlement were economic. The land of Massachusetts was not over-fertile; it had much rocky, swampy and difficult land. To the west was the valley of the Connecticut river and reports had reached Massachusetts about the fertility of its deep soil; it was this that attracted settlement from Massachusetts. The Dutch, who had settled on the Hudson river at New Amsterdam, were already showing an interest in this neighbourhood and had set up a trading post in 1633 near Hartford. The first English immigrants came from the New Plymouth colony, but the main movement in the years 1635-6 was from Massachusetts. In 1637 the three or four new settlements

Colonies of Connecticut (1637) and New Haven (1638)

united to form a self-governing colony. Their government resembled that of Massachusetts, but was more democratic, since Connecticut did not insist, as Massachusetts did, on Church membership as an essential qualification for voting for the General Assembly.

The small colony of New Haven was founded in 1638 on the shores of Long Island Sound by two religious enthusiasts, John Davenport and Theophilus Eaton. Their 'Common-wealth of Saints' was governed not by man-made laws but by laws based on the Bible. In many ways it was a more extreme form of the New England colony of Massachusetts; only the 'elect', that is, Church members, could vote. In 1664 New Haven was absorbed by Connecticut, which had received a royal charter from Charles II recognizing its claims to the territory occupied by the New Haven settlers.

MAINE AND NEW HAMPSHIRE

In the district north of Massachusetts, a certain amount of isolated colonization took place. Some of this was done by dissatisfied settlers from Massachusetts and some from outside the colony. Two districts were opened up: one in the north-east, known as Maine, and the other to the north-west, which later developed into the royal province of New Hampshire. Both areas were claimed by Massachusetts, and she kept her authority over New Hampshire until 1679, when it was declared a royal province. Maine, on the other hand, remained under the influence of Massachusetts until 1820.

3

ENGLISH COLONIES IN THE CARIBBEAN, 1600-40

GUIANA AND THE AMAZON, 1602-22

English settlements in the Caribbean like those on the North American mainland were influenced by the ideas and activities of Sir Walter Raleigh. His journey in 1595 to Guiana had convinced him that this no man's land between the Spanish Main on the north and Portuguese Brazil on the south was destined to become England's first tropical colony. He sent further expeditions in 1596 and 1597 under Keymis and Berry, which explored the coastline between the Orinoco and Amazon and sailed up the estuaries of the smaller rivers.

After a preliminary voyage to Guiana, Charles Leigh made a small settlement on the banks of the river Wiapoco in 1604. Leigh died in 1606 but the remainder of the settlers stayed a year or so longer. During this time they made attempts to cultivate tobacco and flax and to trade with the Arawak Indians. The survivors were brought back to Europe in 1606 by a Dutch ship. In 1609 Robert Harcourt set up several trading posts on the Wiapoco and the neighbouring rivers, but these were not very successful. Harcourt and some other gentlemen in 1613 were granted proprietary rights by letters patent over the land between the Amazon and Essequibo rivers. The intention was to grant land to subscribers and so set up a plantation colony, but no support was forthcoming and the enterprise failed. English adventurers, however, continued to frequent the Guiana coasts and estuaries including the Amazon for the next ten years or more, doing some trading and planting of tobacco. An Amazon Company was formed in 1619 which set up trading and planting bases in the delta of the Amazon. These lasted a few years but the Portuguese in whose territory the

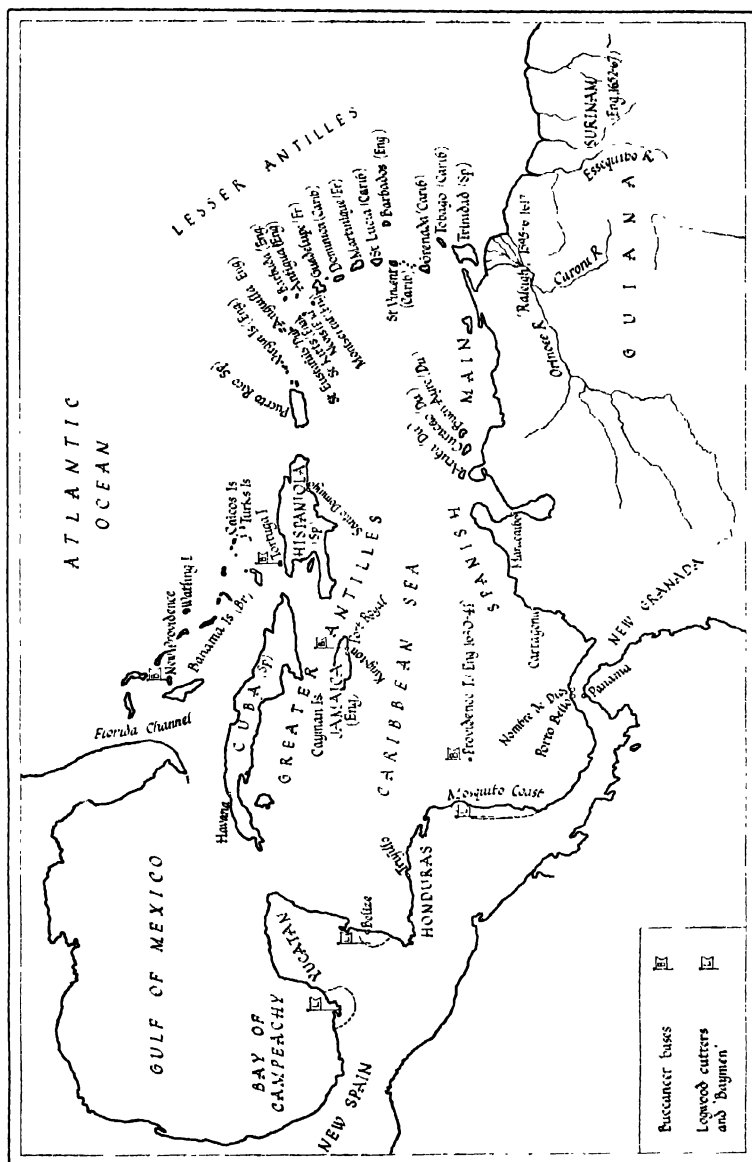
Guiana and the Amazon, 1602-22

Amazon lay destroyed most of them. It was now clear that because of Portuguese and Spanish hostility England's first tropical colony must be sited elsewhere.

ST CHRISTOPHER (ST KITTS) AND ITS OFFSHOOTS, 1624-32

Among the settlers of the Amazon colony of 1619 was Captain Thomas Warner. He had heard good reports of the climate and fertility of St Christopher (St Kitts), an island in the Lesser Antilles. On his return home from the Amazon in 1622 Warner visited St Kitts and spent some time there negotiating with the Carib chief. He then returned to England to find an influential backer for his proposed colony. A London merchant, Ralph Merrifield, gave support and Warner returned to St Kitts in January 1624 with a few settlers. They built a small fort, dwelling-huts and planted tobacco. The first crop was destroyed by a hurricane in September but another was planted and Warner took the tobacco from this back to England in the summer of 1625 as proof of the infant colony's success. The hostility of the Caribs still threatened the colony. Already towards the end of 1624 Warner had successfully forestalled a Carib attack. In 1625 a French privateer from Dieppe, Pierre Belain d'Esnambuc, put in to St Kitts to refit after being worsted by a Spanish ship he had attacked. Warner accepted d'Esnambuc's proposal that a French settlement should be made as he was glad of this reinforcement against the Caribs. The island was divided so that the English held the middle part and the French the two extremities of the island. The agreement between Warner and d'Esnambuc was confirmed by treaty in 1627 and the division lasted down to the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) when the French ceded their portion to England.

This Anglo-French agreement and the defeat of the Caribs brought prosperity to the island. Tobacco was its first profitable crop and considerable cargoes were exported to England. By 1629 there were said to be nearly 3000 settlers on the island. In this year a temporary setback occurred when in September an expedi-



St Christopher (St Kitts) and its Offshoots, 1624-32

tion under Fadrique de Toledo was sent to expel the English trespassers from what Spain regarded as her territory. Both on St Kitts and Nevis many of the English and French colonists were captured and their crops and homes destroyed. Some however fled to the wild country inland and after the Spaniards had gone returned to their ruined plantations. Negro slaves were introduced and numerous white indentured servants. As in Barbados tobacco growing was abandoned in favour of the more profitable sugar crop. The surplus population of St Kitts was drained off to found other colonies in Nevis (1628), Montserrat, and Antigua (1632) whose prosperity was also based on sugar. Warner also attempted to colonize St Lucia but the Caribs there proved too strong for the small groups of settlers.

THE EARLY COLONIZATION OF BARBADOS, 1627-8

Three years after the foundation of St Kitts the larger and more important island of Barbados was settled. This island lay some sixty miles to windward of the other islands of the Lesser Antilles, a position which gave it more security from Spanish attacks. These were seaborne from westward and so had to beat up against the prevailing north-easterly trade winds—a slow job. In 1624 Captain John Powell, returning from Brazil, touched at the island which he found uninhabited; he took possession in the name of King James I. A London merchant, Sir William Courteen, formed a syndicate to colonize this vacant and fertile island. In February 1627 about eighty settlers were landed. Their leader, Henry Powell, brother of John, went to the Dutch colony of Essequibo in Guiana where he obtained cassava roots, maize and tobacco seed, together with thirty-two Arawak Indians to show the new settlers in Barbados how to grow these crops. This settlement and opening up of plantations for tobacco, maize and cotton growing proceeded with unusual speed and vigour; by the end of 1628 there were over 1500 inhabitants, many of them white indentured servants who had bound themselves to serve for a period of years in return for their passage out. The Courteen settlement of the island was interrupted in the middle of 1628 by the arrival of a party sent out

English Colonies in the Caribbean, 1600-40

by the Earl of Carlisle acting under a patent granted him by Charles I giving him proprietary rights over the 'Caribbee islands'.

THE STRUGGLE FOR CONTROL OF BARBADOS, 1628-9

The nature of a proprietary grant has already been described in connection with the colony of Maryland (see chapter 2). James Hay, Earl of Carlisle, was a spendthrift nobleman with a long list of creditors, most of them London merchants. Since he had little ready cash, he sought a grant of overseas lands which could be exploited for his creditors' benefit. The royal letters patent of 2 July 1627 granted Carlisle proprietary rights over the 'Caribbee Islands' lying between latitude 10° and 20° North. Besides 'Barbidas', twenty-one other islands were named, practically all the Lesser Antilles. Subject to payment of £100 annually and rendering allegiance to the Crown, Carlisle was a ruler with sovereign rights. He had power to allot lands and fix rents and to levy taxation. The patent declared that the settlers were to have the rights of freeborn Englishmen. The proprietor was to make laws 'with the consent assent and approbation of the free inhabitants or the greater part of them'. It was some years however before the island received a representative assembly, since this would have been a means whereby criticism could be expressed of the exploitation of the settlers by Carlisle and his merchant creditors during the early years.

This granting away of an island whose settlement they had already pioneered at considerable cost led the Courteen syndicate to seek a friend at court. Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, intervened on their behalf. By royal letters patent dated 25 February 1628 he received a grant of proprietary rights over Trinidad, Tobago, and Barbados. Carlisle replied by obtaining a second grant from Charles I on 7 April 1628 which confirmed his first one. This contradictory action by Charles shows the welter of intrigue at his Court; it may also have been partly due to geographical ignorance of exactly what was being granted.

The Courteens pressed for a legal decision on their rights and the matter was finally referred by Charles I to Lord Coventry,

The Struggle for Control of Barbados, 1628-9

Keeper of the Great Seal, for an opinion. Meanwhile the Carlisle and Courteen factions were struggling for control of the island itself. Wolverston, the Governor appointed by Carlisle, arrived there in June 1628 and after a month or so succeeded in enforcing his authority over John Powell and the Courteen settlers. In 1629 Henry Powell arrived with reinforcements, captured Wolverston, released his nephew John Powell and reinstated him as Governor. About £12,000 worth of tobacco belonging to Carlisle and his merchant creditors was confiscated. The triumph of the Courteens was short-lived. In April 1629 Lord Keeper Coventry advised the king in favour of the Carlisle patent. Henry Hawley, Carlisle's new Governor, reached Barbados in August of the same year. By a trick he captured John Powell and the leaders of the Courteen group and within a week had reduced the island to obedience to Carlisle's authority. The Courteens could get no redress and lost their investment.

THE INTRODUCTION OF SUGAR CANE TO BARBADOS

The colonization of Barbados in its early years was not helped by the quarrels of the rival patentees. The preoccupation of the settlers with the growing of cash crops for export such as tobacco led to shortage of foodstuffs. The island owed much to the Dutch traders who brought in salted provisions and other necessities. Early accounts of the island were not always favourable. One visitor in 1631, Sir Henry Colt, complained about the mosquitoes, the drunken and quarrelsome young men, the bad state of the plantations and the laziness of the settlers and their servants. At the same time he praised the fertility of the island and saw a prosperous future for it if cotton growing was established. For the first twenty years or so the economy of Barbados was based on tobacco, cotton and indigo, with food crops such as cassava, maize and plantains. At this stage cultivation was done by small farmers who predominated, as is shown by a return of 1643 giving some 8500 proprietors of land out of a total population of 30,000. The introduction of the sugar cane in the 1640's had far-reaching results. The small farmer, cultivating his land himself or with the help of a

English Colonies in the Caribbean, 1600-40

few white indentured servants, gave way to the large planter and organized slave labour. Barbados was the pioneer English island in large-scale sugar production, and many fortunes were made in the early days. The Dutch made a considerable contribution to this industry not only with their knowledge of the crushing, boiling and refining processes, but by supplying the slaves, mill rollers, coppers and other utensils required.

An early history (1657) of Barbados by Richard Ligon describes the start of this industry:

At the time we landed on this island, which was the beginning of September 1647, we were informed that the great work of sugar-making was but newly practised here... But the secret of the work not being very well understood, the sugars made were very inconsiderable, and little worth for two or three years... at our arrival we found them ignorant of three main points. The manner of Planting, the time of Gathering, and the right way of placing their Coppers in the furnaces, as also the way of covering the rollers with plates or bars of iron. But about the time I left the island (1650), they were then much bettered, for then they had the skill to know when the canes were ripe, which was not till they were fifteen months old, and before they had gathered them at twelve months, which was a main disadvantage for making good sugar, for the liquor wanting of the sweetness it ought to have, caused the sugar to be lean and unfit to keep. Besides they were grown greater Proficients in the boyling and curing them and had learnt the knowledge of making them white...

The small farmer could not buy the amount of land required nor had he the money for purchase of slaves and sugar-making appliances. By the 1640's Barbados was overpopulated and by 1650 a considerable migration out of the island started. Some went to found new colonies such as Jamaica, others to colonies already established on the American mainland. Referring to these changes an account of 1667 says:

It became a flourishing colony by the great encouragement of the Dutch, and in 1643 there were 18,600 effective men, of whom 6500 were proprietors... Now not above 700 considerable proprietors, and 8000 effective men of whom two-thirds are Irish, derided by the negroes as white slaves... 12,000 good men formerly proprietors have gone off, wormed out of their small settlements by their more suttile and greedy neighbours.

English Colonies in the Caribbean, 1600-40

PROVIDENCE ISLAND, 1630-41

Trade and plantation activities were the motives for the English Caribbean colonies so far described. In 1630 there was an attempt to set up a colony where, as in New England, Puritan principles could be practised without interference. The island chosen lay in the South-west Caribbean and was known to the Spaniards as Santa Catalina or St Catherine; its English settlers named it Providence. Its position in the Caribbean of about 300 miles from the Isthmus of Panama made it an excellent base from which privateering attacks could be launched on the Spanish treasure fleet sailing from the Isthmus to Havana. It is likely that privateering aims were as much in the minds of the promoters of the enterprise as the project of a refuge for distressed Puritans. A leading promoter, Robert Rich, second Earl of Warwick, had for some time been associated with colonizing and privateering ventures which carried on the old Puritan Elizabethan anti-Spanish tradition. In December 1630 Charles I issued letters patent incorporating 'The Governor and Company of Adventurers for the Plantation of the islands of Providence, Henrietta and the adjacent islands...'. Settlement was made by about five hundred people, the island fortified and some plantation of tobacco attempted. In 1635 Warwick formed an associated company which opened up trading relations with the Indians of the Mosquito Coast (now Nicaragua), a move which later led to the activities of the Baymen or logwood cutters of Campechy and Belize. Religious and plantation aims soon declined and within a few years the island had become a base for privateers and pirates.

The Spaniards could not tolerate the threat of a privateer base to one of their main sea routes in the Caribbean. In 1635 they attacked Providence, but failed to take it, though they destroyed the boat-building establishment on the neighbouring island of Henrietta. In 1638-9 a combined Anglo-Dutch expedition from Providence raided the Spanish town of Trujillo on the mainland of Honduras and extorted 16,000 pieces of eight for ransom. This outrage goaded the Spaniards into activity and a further attempt was made in 1640 to capture Providence. This failed, but in the

English Colonies in the Caribbean, 1600-40

following year a more determined effort by the Spaniards succeeded. Providence was not reoccupied by the English (except for a short period in 1665 by English buccaneers), but the venture was not without importance and results. Indirectly it led to the logwood settlements on the Central American mainland. It revealed the declining strength of Spain in the inner Caribbean, a fact which later encouraged the 'Western design' of Oliver Cromwell leading to the capture of Jamaica in 1655 (see chapter 5).

4

THE ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

THE WEALTH OF THE EAST

The English connexion with India and the East was established in the early seventeenth century by English merchants who were aware of the trading possibilities of this area. There were strong motives for opening up trade with the East because of its luxury commodities, spices, drugs, silk and cotton goods. Such goods meant high profits in European markets where rising standards of living had created a demand for them. It was also hoped that the trade would not be one way only. There might well be an extensive market for the manufactures of England, notably her woollen cloths.

The Italian trading states such as Venice and Genoa had tapped some of the wealth of the East during the Middle Ages. In the sixteenth century the Portuguese had been far more successful once

The Wealth of the East

they had opened up a sea-route to the East. Their galleons brought home rich cargoes of spices to Lisbon and Antwerp. The problem for the less-fortunate nations such as England was how to get access to the Indian Ocean and the East. The difficulties were considerable. There was the monopoly claimed by the Portuguese and confirmed to them by various papal bulls, though England after her breach with the Pope paid little attention to such grants. More formidable were the great distance by sea, the problems of navigation, the hazards of the tropics and the need for bases in the East. Not unnaturally the Portuguese had kept their knowledge of the East and the way thither to themselves. It was therefore necessary for other powers to make their own pioneer voyages in the face of all these difficulties, including the opposition of the Portuguese. In 1580 Portugal and her empire passed under Spanish control. As a result the two greatest enemies of Spain, England and Holland, had no scruples about entering and attacking the vast trading preserves of Portugal in the East.

The position of the Portuguese in the East was a strong one. Thanks to such pioneers as Albuquerque she controlled all the important approaches. Coming from the West she had bases on the South African and East African coasts; in the East she controlled the Malacca Straits through which trade from China and the Spice Islands passed. From the capital of her eastern empire at Goa on the west coast of India she dominated the Indian ocean; her fort at Ormuz barred the entrance and exit from the Persian Gulf and her control of the Red Sea was almost as well established. Yet the Portuguese were hard put to it to defend this great area once they were attacked by the well-organized fleets of the English and Dutch. The Portuguese could not defend their monopoly and in addition they lost the Spice Islands to the Dutch.

ENGLISH APPROACHES TO THE EAST BY LAND AND SEA

In the second half of the sixteenth century English efforts concentrated on finding a way to approach the East. Her attempts to find North-east and North-west passages which would give a short

English East India Company in the Seventeenth Century

sea-route to the East have already been described. The failure to find this did not discourage English enterprise; some notable land journeys to the East were made before it was finally realized that the approach must be by sea round the Cape of Good Hope regardless of the Portuguese monopoly.

In 1558-9 Anthony Jenkinson made an overland journey from Russia down the river Volga to the Caspian Sea and then to Bokhara. His aim was to survey the prospects of trade with Persia through Russia and the possibility of tapping the trade that came up the Persian Gulf from the Indian Ocean. In 1562 Jenkinson made a second journey bearing letters from Queen Elizabeth to the Shah of Persia seeking trading concessions. He was partly successful in his mission and permission to buy raw silk was obtained. But this attempt of the Russia Company to trade with Persia through Russia was doomed to failure: the route was too long and dangerous. More success in exploiting the land approaches to the East was achieved by the English Levant Company which was founded in 1581; the Sultan of Turkey allowed it to set up trading factories in his Empire. In spite of the new sea-routes from the East some trade still came overland through the Sultan's dominions to the shores of the Mediterranean. The Levant Company was able to secure a good deal of this trade, dealing in spices, pepper, drugs, dyes, cottons and muslins. Its footholds in the Near East also enabled some of its members to undertake expeditions further East.

In 1583 John Newbery and Ralph Fitch with the backing of the Levant Company set out overland to India. Their route was via the Euphrates valley to the Persian Gulf. At Ormuz they were arrested by the Portuguese as spies and sent to Goa from which they escaped some six months later, to continue through Central India, visiting the diamond mines of Golconda and thence to the Mughul emperor's court at Agra. Newbery then set out for home overland via Persia and the Mediterranean but died on the way. Fitch made a remarkable journey to the Ganges valley, Burma and Malacca, observing the kind of trade carried on in these places. Speaking Portuguese fluently he took the risk of returning through the Portuguese dominions via Cochin, Goa and Ormuz, then overland from Basra to Tripoli in Syria. He arrived back in London

English Approaches to the East by Land and Sea

in 1591. His travels showed clearly the hostility of the Portuguese to other European nations and their determination to defend the approaches to their empire.

The defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 encouraged England to damage Spain and Portugal still more by sending an expedition to the Indian Ocean by sea. A group of London merchants, some of them members of the Levant Company, sent out three ships in 1591 under the command of James Lancaster. Only one ship managed to reach Zanzibar. From there the coast of West India was the objective but faulty navigation took Lancaster south of Ceylon to make a landfall off the island of Sumatra. He called at Penang and plundered Portuguese shipping from Malacca. A mutinous crew forced him to return to England which was reached only after a long and difficult voyage via the Cape, St Helena, Brazil and the West Indies. Lancaster and a few companions were marooned on a small island off Hispaniola but were rescued by a French vessel and eventually reached England in May 1594. Lancaster had shown that it was possible to penetrate the Indian Ocean but the expedition had shown no profit for its promoters. The capture during these years by English seamen of Portuguese carracks homeward bound from the Indies with rich cargoes aboard whetted the appetite of Englishmen for a share in the wealth of the Indies. Another reason for speedy action by England was the appearance of the Dutch as rivals for a place in the Indies. In 1592 a Dutchman, Van Linschoten, had returned to Holland after a stay of six years in Goa. He published two books: one which gave sailing instructions for Eastern waters based on the experience of the Portuguese and secondly his *Itinerario* giving full information about the Portuguese possession in the East. A Dutch expedition under De Houtman sailed in 1595, reached Bantaam in Java and returned in 1597. The Dutch followed up in force; twenty-eight of their ships went out to the East in 1598. The rich cargoes brought back made it clear that English merchants must organize themselves quickly if they were to obtain any share in this Eastern trade.

English East India Company in the Seventeenth Century

THE FOUNDATION OF THE ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1600

The English East India Company dates from September 1599 when some London merchants subscribed £30,000 for a voyage to the East Indies. A petition was sent to the Queen in Council asking for incorporation and eventually a charter was granted dated 31 December 1600. This incorporated the adventurers under the title of 'The Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies'. They were given a monopoly of trade for fifteen years, freedom from customs for the first four voyages, the right to export goods they imported from the East and to take out of the realm coin and bullion to the value of £30,000 yearly. For the first fifty-seven years of its existence the Company had no permanent capital or 'stock'. Trading operations were conducted on the 'regulated' principle whereby money was raised for each voyage sent out and eventually the members of the Company who had subscribed this received it back plus a proportionate share of the profit.

EARLY VOYAGES TO THE EAST

The first voyage sent out in 1601 was backed by an investment of about £70,000. Four ships were employed with James Lancaster in command of the flagship the *Red Dragon*, a ship of 600 tons and 38 guns. Progress eastwards was very slow. They left England in February 1601 and reached the Cape of Good Hope in September but did not reach Achin in Sumatra till nine months later (June 1602). Much of this delay was due to the need to rest the crews who were suffering from scurvy. At Achin the Sultan through dislike of the Portuguese received Lancaster cordially and gave him permission to trade. After loading two of his ships with pepper and spices and sending them home to England, Lancaster with the two remaining vessels sailed to Bantam, an important trading centre on the north-west coast of Java. Here he loaded a cargo of pepper and left behind a few merchants to represent the Company and to collect spices for the next voyage. Lancaster and his two

Early Voyages to the East

ships, after a dangerous voyage, reached England in September 1603; the other two vessels had returned safely some months previously. While the Company could congratulate itself on the safe return of all its ships the sale of the heavy cargoes of pepper proved very difficult. There was already a large stock of this from a captured Portuguese carrack awaiting disposal and as it was a royal prize it had to be sold before any of the Company's pepper could be allowed on the market. The best that could be done was to divide the pepper between the members of the Company who thus got their dividend not in cash, but in kind. It was not a very satisfactory conclusion as the glut of pepper meant low prices and slow sales.

In 1603 the Company raised £60,000 for a second voyage. The same four ships were employed under the command of Henry Middleton. Leaving England in March 1604 a much quicker passage was made, the fleet reaching Bantam on 23 December of the same year. Cloves and nutmegs rather than pepper were the aim of the Company and therefore Middleton took two ships eastwards to the Moluccas. While Middleton was in this area the Dutch had captured the spice islands of Amboina and Tidore from the Portuguese. They soon made it clear that the English would not be allowed to trade in their new conquests. In spite of this Middleton had loaded good cargoes of spices from those islands not yet under Dutch control. Three of the four ships reached England in May 1606. The cargoes proved more saleable than those of the first voyage and the profitable nature of the Eastern trade was shown by the fact that when the accounts for the first and second voyages were finally settled in 1609 the subscribers received back their capital and a dividend of 95 per cent. There was also much satisfaction because Middleton had reached the spice-bearing area of the Moluccas.

Although a promising start had been made the Company had a hard struggle during the next fifty years. Its aims were ambitious: first, to establish itself in the spice-bearing islands of the East Indian archipelago, and secondly to open up trade with the mainland of India with extensions eastward to China and Japan. The more important first aim was not achieved owing to the strength

English East India Company in the Seventeenth Century

and superior organization of the Dutch in the archipelago. In India, once the opposition of the Portuguese had been worn down, the English East India Company steadily built up its position. Before relating this success in India the English effort in the East Indian archipelago must be described.

RIVALRY WITH THE DUTCH IN THE SPICE ISLANDS

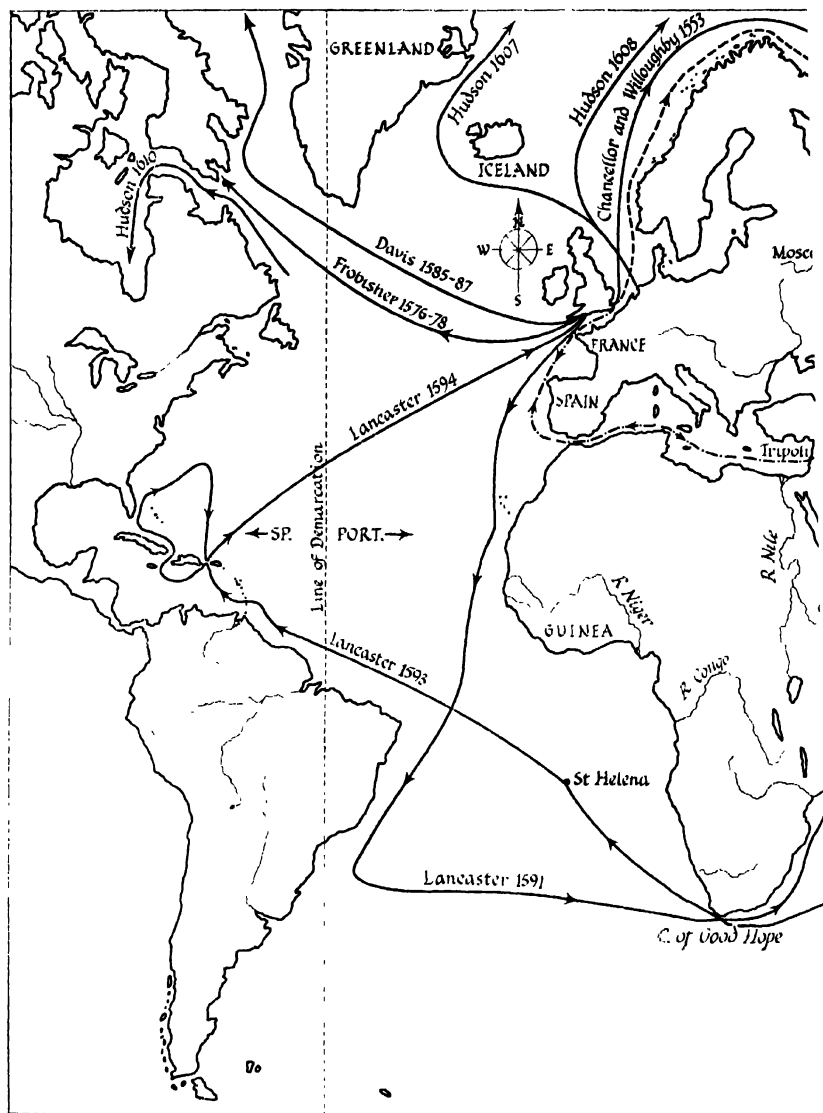
From the start the English were competing with the very much stronger Dutch East India Company. This Company had a permanent capital nearly ten times the amount of the English Company; it was backed by the power of the United Provinces and was given extensive powers such as the making of war and peace, the minting of money, and treaty making with the native rulers. The Dutch Company took a leading part in the attack on the Portuguese empire after 1600. Portugal could not stop the determined and well-organized Dutch, who aimed at nothing less than complete control of all the spice-bearing islands of the East Indian ocean. Already before their truce with Spain and Portugal in 1609 the Dutch had taken the more important of the Portuguese islands, Amboina and Tidore in the Moluccas (1605). In 1608-9 they took most of the islands of the Banda group, valuable as the source of nutmegs. When ships of the English East India Company arrived in the Moluccas and Bandas the Dutch prevented the natives from selling them spices. They claimed that these islands were their conquests which had cost them much blood and treasure. The English denied their right to prohibit trade and reminded the Dutch that Drake had traded in the area during his world voyage of 1577-80; in spite of the Dutch they would trade whenever they could find willing sellers and buyers among the natives. This was not difficult as the Dutch had forced down the prices paid for spices and therefore the native producers stood to gain from a free and competitive market such as the English wanted. But the treaties the Dutch had made with native rulers such as the Sultan of Ternate prohibiting their subjects from selling to any nation but the Dutch made it difficult for the English to get spices in any quantities.

Rivalry with the Dutch in the Spice Islands

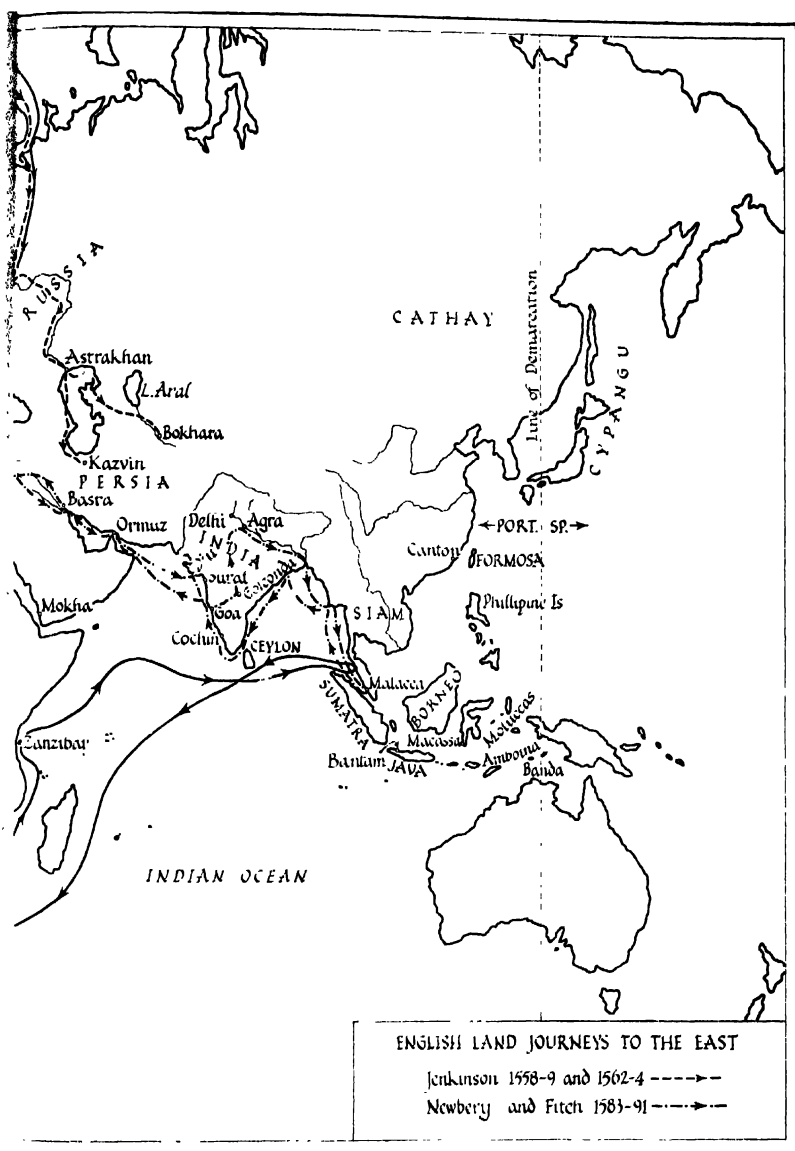
As cloves and nutmegs fetched approximately four times as much as pepper it was not surprising that the English persisted in their efforts to get established in the archipelago. English factories and trading posts were set up in most of the important islands. In Java at Bantam (1603), Jacatra (1614), Japara (1619); in the Moluccas at Amboina; Pulo Run in the Bandas; Macassar (1613) in the Celebes; in Sumatra, where pepper was of better quality than in Java, there were bases at Tikoe and Djambi. Negotiations for a settlement of the rival claims of Dutch and English took place in 1613 and 1615 but were unsuccessful. Open conflict followed in the East Indies in 1618 when an English fleet of fifteen ships attacked the Dutch fleet off Java. The Dutch Governor-General, Jan Pieterzoon Coen, retired to the Moluccas for reinforcements and with these he captured at least six of the English fleet in 1619. By this time, owing to the efforts of James I, a treaty had been negotiated between England and the Dutch (July 1619). Trade in the East was to be shared between the two nations as was the cost of maintaining factories and forts. This so-called 'Treaty of Defence' did not work as the Dutch had no intention of sharing trade with the English or anyone else. Between 1620 and 1623 the Dutch eliminated English factories in the Bandas and Moluccas, culminating in the 'Massacre of Amboina' when ten English merchants, accused on rather flimsy evidence of conspiring with the natives to overthrow Dutch rule, were put to death. So ended the attempts of the English East India Company to get a major share of the spice trade. By the end of the seventeenth century the English Company had but one foothold in this area, at Bencoolen on the west coast of Sumatra.

THE MAINLAND OF INDIA, 1608-50

The Company realized that trading bases on the mainland of India could only be set up by permission of the Mughul emperor. In 1608 William Hawkins was sent as envoy to Agra where he was granted audience by the Emperor Jehangir. He remained at Agra from April 1609 to November 1611, but owing to the influence of the Portuguese at the emperor's court he failed to get permission to



MAP 3. ENGLAND AND THE



ROUTE TO THE EAST

English East India Company in the Seventeenth Century

trade in India. Nevertheless, the Company persisted in their attempts in the Surat area. In 1611-12 Sir Henry Middleton gave a demonstration of English naval power by capturing Indian shipping in the Red Sea. The Mughul authorities soon realized that the English could strike not only at their trading interests in the Red Sea but also at the Moslem pilgrim traffic to this area. Further proof of English sea power was given when in two engagements in November-December 1612 Captain Thomas Best, though greatly outnumbered, routed the Portuguese squadron that had come from Goa to drive the English from the Swally roadstead off Surat. This victory led in January 1613 to a grant from the Mughul emperor of permission to trade and protection for English goods. They were now established at Surat, where they had high hopes: 'Through the whole Indies there cannot be any place more beneficial for our country than this, being the only key to open all the rich and best trade of the Indies....' In January 1615 the Portuguese sent a second squadron against Surat to intimidate the Indian authorities there and also to eliminate the English factory. Captain Nicholas Downton's fleet of four ships gave the Portuguese another such battering as they had received from Best two years before. Henceforth the Portuguese had to accept the presence of the English traders and sea power in the heart of a territory that they regarded as theirs alone.

To follow up this success and to negotiate a treaty with the Mughul emperor, Sir Thomas Roe was sent in 1616, at the Company's expense, as Ambassador from King James I. The Emperor Jehangir, although he received Roe cordially, did not sign the desired trade treaty which would have given the English the right to set up factories in all parts of his empire and, after payment of small import duties on the goods they imported, to trade within the Mughul empire free of transit tolls. The most that Roe could obtain by 1618 was that the English could reside at Surat and trade freely in the interior, with promise of protection for their goods. The Mughul emperors became increasingly aware of the usefulness of the English whose sea power had broken Portuguese domination in the Indian Ocean and had captured in 1622 the Portuguese base at Ormuz at the entrance to the Persian

The Mainland of India, 1608-50

Gulf. It also protected the Indian pilgrim traffic to and from the Red Sea. From Surat the Company set up small agencies in the interior to collect muslins, calicoes, and indigo, while twenty or thirty of their ships carried on an active port-to-port trade along the Indian coast. Gradually the Portuguese gave way and in 1635 a trade treaty was signed between the Viceroy of Goa and the President of the English factory at Surat whereby English ships might load cargoes of spices at Goa and other Portuguese bases. Access was thus obtained to the pepper and spice trade of the Malabar coast. The importance of Surat was recognized on the re-organization of the Company in 1657 when it was declared superior to all the other of the Company's factories in India and the East.

On the east coast of India the Dutch had already anticipated the Company by establishing themselves in 1609 at Pulicat just north of Madras. In 1611 the first English trading station on this coast was set up at Masulipatam. From here the Company did a profitable trade with Sumatra and Java, exchanging Indian calicoes for the spices of the eastern archipelago. Experience showed that the cotton textiles for export could be more easily obtained further south and the decision was made to go south of the Dutch at Pulicat. A local ruler of Madraspatam invited settlement, leased land to the Company and gave permission for fortification. Here at Madras was built (1639-40) Fort St George with the guns necessary, in the unsettled state of the south-eastern (Coromandel) coast, to protect the Company's trade.

From Masulipatam trade was extended to Orissa and Bengal, which were rich and well-populated provinces of the Mughul empire. In 1633 a trading party from Masulipatam under Ralph Cartwright received permission from the Governor of Orissa to set up a factory at Hariharpur on the delta of the Mahanadi river. At the same time the Balasore factory was founded further north and nearer to the Ganges delta. From this coast the Company in 1650 entered the rich Ganges delta when it set up a factory at Hugli, on a branch of the Ganges some hundred miles from the sea. From Balasore the Company's goods were transhipped in small vessels up this channel to Hugli. Thus began the Company's foothold in Bengal, which in the eighteenth century became the most important

English East India Company in the Seventeenth Century

area of their trade and power. Within a few years the Company had set up trading stations in the interior of Bengal at Kasimbazar and Patna. A thriving trade was done, the Company buying raw silk and saltpetre for export.

OTHER AREAS OF ACTIVITY

The Company traded in areas other than India and the East Indian archipelago. The Red Sea gave trading opportunities because of the pilgrim traffic to Mecca and the presence of Egyptian merchants. The Company sent their first ship from Surat to the Arabian port of Mokha in 1618. Trade was profitable in spite of the opposition of the Gujarati Indians who regarded this area as their preserve. When coffee drinking spread to western Europe the Company set up a factory at Mokha in 1660.

A trade in raw silk with Persia was started by sea from Surat in 1617-18. The Portuguese controlled the Persian Gulf from their island fortress of Ormuz, but with the help of an English fleet the Persians captured Ormuz (April 1622). This victory consolidated the Company's position in the Persian Gulf and also gave them the privilege of importing their goods into Persia duty free.

During the seventeenth century the English made a number of not very successful voyages to the Chinese mainland and to the island of Formosa. It proved very difficult, because of the Chinese policy of excluding all foreigners from their empire, to get a permanent foothold for trade. Not until the eighteenth century, when the tea trade grew, did the Company start its valuable China trade and in 1762 obtain permission to set up a factory at Canton.

DIFFICULTIES OF THE COMPANY AT HOME

The achievements of the English East India Company in the first fifty years were considerable. By 1650 in spite of the hazards of navigation, the ravages of the tropics on men and ships and the opposition of its European rivals, it had established firm footholds on the mainland of India. At home it faced difficulties from rival merchant interests and royal dishonesty. Thus in 1635 Charles I

Difficulties of the Company at Home

granted to Sir William Courteen and Sir Peter Pindar, two merchants who had lent him large sums at various times, the right to trade in the East. This grant was a direct infringement of the Company's charter. The consequences for the Company in the East were disastrous as the ships sent out by Courteen's Association indulged in widespread plundering of ships from the Red Sea to China. The Company had to take the blame for these acts of piracy and also for the circulation of counterfeit coin which its rivals manufactured at its base in Madagascar. The Civil War between King and Parliament further harmed the Company and its trade: the market in England for Eastern produce dwindled amidst the confusion of a civil war. Its application to Parliament in 1646 for a re-grant of its charter failed. Fresh capital was almost impossible to raise and by 1649 the Company resolved not to send out any more ships to the East, and to withdraw its factors.

REVIVAL OF THE FORTUNES OF THE COMPANY AFTER 1657

Although Cromwell exacted reparation from the Dutch for the wrongs and losses inflicted on the Company at Amboina and elsewhere in the reigns of James I and Charles I, he was not disposed to help it against its commercial opponents and critics. In 1649 the Company united with the Courteen Company, but owing to lack of capital the union was not very successful. There were more difficult problems than this bankrupt rival. The monopoly claims of the Company were suspect as relics of a Stuart grant. Merchants not freemen of the Company clamoured for the India trade to be thrown open to all without restriction. Some members of the Company petitioned that they might be allowed to make regulated voyages on their own account governed by the rules of the Company like the Levant Company members. While the Company sent out so few ships interlopers did a thriving trade in the East. To end the confusion and uncertainty the Company twice petitioned Cromwell and the Council of State in 1654 and 1656. Cromwell's decision was in favour of a joint-stock company because this kind of organization would give the strength necessary for trade in so distant an area.

English East India Company in the Seventeenth Century

It was a striking confirmation of the farsightedness of the original founders of the Company who in 1599 had said '... the trade of the Indias being so far remote from hence cannot be traded but in a joint and united stock'. The trading history of the past fifty-seven years had shown the method of financing single voyages or a series of voyages for a fixed term of years by capital which was eventually returned to its subscribers plus a share of profits, had various disadvantages. Cromwell's charter of 19 October 1657 prescribed a united and continuous joint-stock Company.

Assured of a permanent trading capital and with its monopoly restored the Company made great strides during the reigns of Charles II and James II. Both kings regarded it with favour and in return were helped by loans from the Company. Royal charters to the Company greatly extended its powers, for example, that of Charles II in 1661 increased the amount of bullion that might be exported from England to the East, gave power to the Company to build fortifications and to exercise both civil and military jurisdiction over their servants and soldiers in the East. Later it received the right to set up its mint at Bombay. These extended powers were necessary because of the gradual breakdown of the authority of the Mughul emperors in India, which forced the Company to defend its trade and interests itself.

TRADE AND ORGANIZATION OF THE COMPANY

The Company's trade with the East was a varied one. Most of its trading was done by the export of silver and gold bullion which it used for the purchase of goods in the East either for import to England or for resale in Eastern markets. Some exports from England which were sold or bartered in the East were woollen cloth, haberdashery, hardware, lead and tin. Its imports home were cotton calicoes, muslins, pepper, spices, drugs, coffee, carpets, lacquer ware, porcelain and large quantities of saltpetre. The trade was a very profitable one as the figures for the Company after 1660 show. The dividends paid between 1657 and 1691 averaged 25 per cent per annum. The price of £100 of stock was £130 in 1669; by 1677 it had risen to £245 and by 1683 to £360.

Trade and Organization of the Company

The affairs of the Company were directed from England by the Governor and a committee of twenty-four Directors with an office and warehouse staff. In the East the number of the Company's servants varied according to the size and importance of the factory; the junior officials were the Factors and Writers. The salaries of all their Eastern servants were low when we consider the risks to health involved. Thus a Factor received £30 a year and a Writer £20, though they received in addition quite generous living allowances. The attraction of the job was not the salary but the opportunities for private trade. The Company from an early date had to recognize, allow and control it as best it could by allotting a prescribed amount of freight space on its ships to its servants. In the East the matter was quite beyond its control for here their servants had much time on their hands which they employed in private trading for themselves.

THE ACQUISITION OF BOMBAY

By the marriage treaty of Charles II with Catherine of Braganza, a Portuguese princess, the island of Bombay on the west coast of India was ceded to England. For Charles II this island was a liability for which he had not the money. It was a tempting foothold for the East India Company and in 1668 it was granted to them by Charles subject to an annual quit rent of £10. By leasing it the Company hoped to dominate the coast trade of Western India at the expense of the Portuguese and Dutch. It was certainly much better suited to do this than Surat. Its place in British India was made by Gerald Aungier, President of Surat, Governor from 1669 to 1677. He saw the need for making it defensible against attack. In any case it lay outside the Mughul empire: it was threatened from inland by the Marathas, from the sea by the Dutch and Malabar pirates. Aungier fortified Bombay and set up a local defence force, drained marshes, established law courts, all of which attracted traders to settle there. Impressed by the strength of the English at Bombay the Maratha leader Sivaji in 1674 granted them by treaty the right to set up factories on the coast to the south of Bombay. The declining power of the Mughul emperors in Central

English East India Company in the Seventeenth Century

and Southern India and the resulting disorder made Aungmye in 1677 give the clear warning to the Directors at home: 'The times now require you to manage your general commerce with your sword in your hands.' In 1687 the Company transferred its headquarters on the west coast from Surat to Bombay.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FORT WILLIAM (CALCUTTA)

In Bengal, in spite of trading privileges granted by the emperor, his viceroy harried the Company and made trade difficult. In 1686 the Company departed from its established policy of unarmed trade and, to defend its rights in Bengal, declared war on the emperor. With only a few hundred troops and a few ships the Company was badly worsted in this foolish attack on the might of the Mughuls. In 1687 Job Charnock, in charge in Bengal, had to abandon the Company's factory at Hugli. He moved downstream to Calcutta which, unlike Hugli, had a deep harbour and where attack by land was made difficult by the swamp country to the east. But even the dogged Charnock could not hold Calcutta with his handful of fever-stricken troops; he was driven out but as a last resort hung on grimly at the river mouth. Peace was made in 1690 and the emperor graciously allowed the Company to return to Bengal. Their return was not to Hugli but to Calcutta where Charnock spent his last years in building up this new factory. In 1696 it was fortified and as Fort William was the headquarters of the Company in the rich trading area of Bengal.

THE 'OLD' AND 'NEW' EAST INDIA COMPANIES, 1698-1708

In England the great prosperity of the Company led to demands that its monopoly of trade should be ended or modified so that more merchants could have a share. The Company flatly opposed this demand and vigorously prosecuted all interlopers. But it could not deal with all of them; interloping was highly profitable and not difficult as there were sympathizers both in England and India, where some of the Company's servants found it useful to be

The 'Old' and 'New' East India Companies, 1698-1708

friendly with these unlicensed traders. Thomas Pitt, later Governor of Madras, started his career and fortune as a successful interloper at Balasore. The Company also had political enemies; it had been the favourite of Charles II and James II, both of whom had renewed its charter with increased powers. The flight of James II and the Revolution of 1688 gave Parliament an opportunity to intervene by passing an Act of Parliament for the creation of a new and rival Company. In spite of the skilful opposition of the Old Company this New Company was sanctioned in 1698; in return it made a loan of £2 million to the government. The privileges of the Old Company were to end in three years' time, but it showed few signs of lying down under this shattering blow. It still had numerous advantages such as its wide knowledge and experience of Indian trade, its factories and its servants; it had also subscribed heavily to the New Company's capital. For a short time a ruinous competition went on in India with the Old Company's servants doing everything they could to obstruct the newcomers, and the Mughul authorities in a state of bewilderment as to whom they were dealing with. A union of Old and New Companies was the obvious solution and this was accomplished between 1702 and 1708.

5

THE COMMONWEALTH AND PROTECTORATE, 1649-60

THE EFFECT OF THE CIVIL WAR

By 1640 the foundation phase of the British empire in North America and the Caribbean had been completed. During the years 1630-40 there had been considerable emigration from

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England to the colonies, especially New England. The conflict between King and Parliament which started in 1640 slowed down this movement and emigration did not revive until the late 1640's, when disgruntled Royalists and Irish prisoners moved to the colonies either voluntarily or under compulsion.

The most important result of the Civil War for the colonies was that they were left alone. European powers like Spain who might have attacked them were engaged in the Thirty Years War; fortunately, as England herself during these years could not have done much to protect her colonies from attack. Both Royalists and Parliamentarians wanted to assert their control over the colonies but could not make their orders effective. The colonies quickly realized the position and its advantages for them. First, whatever their sympathies, Royalist or otherwise, they knew that the Civil War would allow them to go their own way without interference; their attitude inclined towards neutrality. Except for New England the colonies were generally Royalist, but their royalism was a qualified one. The king in the eyes of the Barbadians was too much connected with the proprietors such as the Earl of Carlisle. On the other hand the colonists knew that the City merchants were influential supporters of Parliament and were waiting for the latter's victory to enforce their claims and interests in the colonies. The colonists had already thought that they were working too hard on behalf of these merchants, who had extensive plantations, trading interests and financial control in many of the colonies. They therefore sent cautious answers to the request of the committee set up by the Parliamentary party in 1643 for recognition of the jurisdiction of Parliament. Even the New England colonies, whose religious and political attitudes were much the same as those of the English Parliamentarians, asserted their independence of Parliament. In Virginia the authority of the king was recognized but during these years the real ruler of the colony was its House of Burgesses. Maryland and Bermuda were rent by Cavalier and Roundhead factions. In the Caribbean neutrality was the order of the day. Sir Thomas Warner, who already held the King's commission as Lieutenant-Governor of the 'Caribbee' islands, received another commission from the Parliamentary committee

The Effect of the Civil War

in November 1643. This did not prevent him from accepting the Earl of Marlborough in 1645 as King Charles's representative, and Montserrat followed his example. Barbados refused to accept him and made it clear to Parliament that they remained neutral until the conflict between king and Parliament was settled. Parliament went further during this struggle by using economic measures. Thus it gave preferential duties on exports such as tobacco from the colonies, and imports from England to the colonies were to be free of export duties. These measures undoubtedly had some weight as London controlled by Parliament was the great port to which colonial produce came, but they were not decisive in shaking the colonies from their neutral attitude.

COLONIAL DEFIANCE OF THE COMMONWEALTH

A new phase opened in 1649 with the execution of Charles I, the abolition of the monarchy and the establishment of the Commonwealth. The execution of the king greatly disturbed the colonies, except New England. In Bermuda the Council declared it 'a horrid act which we defie and detest'. Virginia proclaimed Charles II and the same was done in May 1650 by Barbados where the influence of exiled Royalists was very strong. This recognition coincided with the arrival at Barbados of Francis, Lord Willoughby. In 1647 the second Earl of Carlisle had leased to Willoughby the proprietorship of the Caribbees in return for a fifth share of the revenues. Willoughby, who had been a moderate Parliamentary supporter, went over to the king in 1648. He received two commissions, one from Charles II and the other from Carlisle, appointing him Governor and Lieutenant-General in the Caribbee islands. After some difficulty with the extreme Royalists led by the Walrond brothers, Willoughby succeeded in establishing his authority in the island, and in Antigua: the other islands, St Kitts, Nevis, and Montserrat, refused to abandon their neutrality, saying they 'would take neither partye, but allowe free trade to all commers'.

The Commonwealth could not let these acts of defiance from Barbados, Virginia, Bermuda and Antigua pass unnoticed; there

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was the further consideration that the trade of these colonies was passing into the hands of the Dutch. It therefore made ready to destroy these nests of royalism and to bring them back to their allegiance to the Commonwealth. In August an embargo was laid on all ships from England going to Barbados, followed in October 1650 by a more sweeping enactment which prohibited trade with Barbados, Virginia, Antigua, and Bermuda. It also proclaimed their inhabitants traitors and said that no foreigners were to trade with English colonies in America or in the Caribbean except under licence. Early in 1651 a squadron under Sir George Ayscue was commissioned to reconquer these rebellious colonies. After capturing the Royalist privateer base in the Scilly Islands and searching for Prince Rupert and his fleet, Ayscue reached Barbados in October 1651.

On hearing of Parliament's action Barbados made ready to defend itself, which, as it could raise a force of 5000 infantry and 1000 cavalry, it could hope to do with success. The Governor, Council and Assembly issued (18 February 1651) a Declaration in reply to Parliament's action:

Shall we be bound to the government and lordship of a Parliament in which we have no representatives, or persons chosen by us, for there to propound and to consent to what might be needful for us, as also to oppose and dispute all what should tend to our disadvantage and harme? In truth, this would be a slavery far exceeding all that the English nation hath yet suffered.

They also made it clear that they would not accept the prohibition of trade with foreign nations, especially the Dutch: 'We will never besounthankful to the Netherlanders for their former help and assistance, as to deny or forbid them, or any other Nation, the freedom of our harbours and the protection of our laws.'

SUBMISSION OF THE COLONIES

Since he was greatly inferior in numbers to the defenders, at first Ayscue could do no more than blockade the island. Some weeks later reinforcements enabled him to make a successful raid on one of the forts ashore. He started to undermine the morale of the

Submission of the Colonies

defenders by telling them of the hopelessness of the Royalist cause in England and of the recent defeats it had suffered. Finally he opened negotiations with the moderate Royalists and offered generous terms for a settlement. This split the Royalists and Willoughby found himself deserted by the moderates led by the pliant Colonel Thomas Modyford. With Modyford's men against him and Ayscue's force ashore, Willoughby reluctantly accepted the Articles of Surrender on 11 January 1652. The existing government by Governor, Council and Assembly was confirmed. No taxation was to be levied without the Assembly's consent. There was to be a restitution of confiscated property to both sides. Freedom of trade with all friendly nations was promised but the Navigation Act of 1651 prevented this, although the Barbadians continued to trade illegally with their old friends the Dutch for some years. Of the other rebellious islands Antigua was soon reduced to obedience and Bermuda voluntarily surrendered when the events at Barbados were known; St Kitts, Nevis and Montserrat had already accepted the Commonwealth. Though Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice were in the Caribbean with a Royalist fleet from May to December 1652, they could not shake the authority of the Commonwealth over the English islands.

On the American mainland Virginia submitted to a Commonwealth fleet in March 1652 when generous terms were offered. A Governor chosen by Parliament was appointed but his two successors were chosen by the Virginian Assembly, which until the Restoration virtually ruled the colony. Maryland likewise recognized the Commonwealth and after a period of confusion Lord Baltimore recovered his proprietary rights in 1657.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN ENGLISH COLONIAL POLICY

The years 1650-60 were important ones in the history of the British empire. During this period a national policy was fashioned to give England a place of greatness among the nations. For this, development of her navy, her overseas trade and her colonies was essential. The first two Stuart kings had encouraged the colonization by trading companies and by private individuals, but had

The Commonwealth and Protectorate, 1649-60

not done much more than this. Under the Commonwealth and Protectorate there was much more control from the centre and the colonies were treated as part of an organized empire; this control was made effective by a powerful navy. A system of economic control was founded by the Commonwealth to exclude foreigners from trade with our colonies and to increase our sea power by enacting that trade between the colonies and the mother country must be carried in English or colonial ships (see chapter 7). The Navigation Acts of 1650 and 1651 were the foundations on which the structure of the self-sufficing first British empire was reared. This development of national policy was stimulated by the example of the Dutch. In the first half of the seventeenth century they had set up a mighty commercial empire based on a fighting navy, an efficient merchant marine which carried most of the world's trade, and an up-to-date financial system at home. In the East Indies and Africa the Dutch had taken over many Portuguese bases; in the Caribbean they monopolized the trade and played havoc with the Spanish shipping; in North America their colony of New Holland drove a wedge between the English colonies there. Nearer home we found the Dutch poaching our territorial waters for the herring; in the Arctic they excelled in sealing and whaling. The Baltic was their preserve and there they had preferential treatment from the Danes who controlled the gates to this sea, that is, the Sound. It was clear that England, with a similiar geographical position, population and economic interests, must assert herself in the face of this powerful rival or else sink into comparative inferiority in sea power, trade and colonial power.

With a powerful navy and army England not only counted in European politics, but was also able to secure her commercial and colonial interests. In 1652 a war was fought with the Dutch, a Protestant power and our one-time ally against the common foe, Spain. The peace signed in 1654 made the Dutch agree reluctantly to observe the Navigation Acts of 1651 and 1652, which excluded them from trade with our colonies and elsewhere.

With Denmark in 1654 Cromwell signed a treaty giving us access to the Baltic on the same terms as the Dutch and assuring us vital naval stores, timber, masts, pitch, hemp and tar. The presence

The Development of an English Colonial Policy

of Blake's fleet in 1654 persuaded the Portuguese to sign a treaty allowing English ships to trade with any Portuguese possession in the East Indies.

CROMWELL'S 'WESTERN DESIGN'

Cromwell, whose outlook resembled that of the Elizabethans in his hostility to Spain, finally decided that Spain must be attacked, both in the Old and New World. During the war with the Dutch, 1652-4, Cromwell had proposed that there should be a close alliance between the two nations for the purpose of partitioning the Spanish and Portuguese empires. The latter would be Holland's share and the former England's. The Dutch were not minded to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for the English and the scheme lapsed. But Cromwell, once peace had been made with the Dutch, launched England singlehanded against the Spanish empire in America. His 'Western Design' went further than the raids of the Elizabethan seamen, such as Drake in the Caribbean, as it aimed at annexation of Spanish territories. He was influenced by a book written by an English Catholic, Thomas Gage, who had spent many years in Central America as a Dominican friar and who had in 1637 abandoned his faith. In his book *The English American* Gage exaggerated the weakness of the Spanish empire and said that the large islands of the Caribbean and the Central American mainland could easily be conquered within two years. More sensibly Colonel Thomas Modyford of Barbados advised that the attack should be against Trinidad and the Orinoco estuary, since here distance would make it difficult for the Spaniards to counter-attack.

FAILURE AT HISPANIOLA

The striking force was hastily assembled towards the end of 1654. The ships were under the command of Admiral William Penn; the land forces were commanded by General Venables. The 2500 soldiers were an ill-trained rabble composed mainly of rejects from English regiments and vagabonds from the London slums. Much reliance was placed upon obtaining substantial reinforcements from the English islands in the Caribbean. On arrival at Barbados

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in January 1655 the expedition soon made itself unpopular with the influential planters. About 4000 Barbadians were enlisted, many of them indentured servants whose masters lost them for ever. In addition the island had to provide money, food and muskets for this ill-found expedition. A further 1200 recruits were provided by the Leeward Islands. From Barbados the expedition sailed to Hispaniola where a badly organized attack was made on Santo Domingo, the capital of the island. The attacking force was landed thirty miles to the west of the city and its approach march was one long tale of disaster. The difficult country, the heat, the lack of food and water, the poor leadership, the cowardice of the troops and the attacks of the Spanish cavalry and local 'cow killers' armed with machetes, all combined to bring complete failure.

THE CAPTURE OF JAMAICA, 1655

From Hispaniola the force moved to an easier prey, Jamaica. This island had been little developed since its discovery by Columbus, and in 1655 there were not more than 1500 Spaniards there, mostly engaged in cattle raising. Venables's force was opposed by a mere handful of Spanish troops and a week after the English had landed, the Governor surrendered the island on 17 May 1655. Cromwell, who saw in the failure at Hispaniola a mark of Divine displeasure ('We have cause to be humbled for the reproof God gave us at St Domingo'), nevertheless made considerable efforts to get settlers for Jamaica from England, the English West Indian islands and New England. But the island for some years was in no state to receive colonists; there was an active resistance movement led by Cristobal Ysassi with the help of a few Spaniards and loyal Negro slaves from the northern part of the island. The shortage of food was acute owing to the indiscipline of the English troops who refused to cultivate the land and who very soon killed off thousands of the cattle and pigs which had swarmed in the island—'Our soldiers have destroyed all sorts of provisions and cattle. Nothing but ruin attends them wherever they go. Dig or plant they neither will nor can, but are determined rather to starve than work.' Yellow fever and dysentery carried off hundreds of the soldiers.

The Capture of Jamaica, 1655

But a capable military Governor, General Edward D'Oyley, restored order and by 1660 had ended the resistance of Ysassi. With the advent of experienced settlers from the other English islands a colony began to take shape. Some 1600 persons migrated from Nevis and there were smaller parties from Barbados, Bermuda and New England. In addition there were the officers and men of the original expedition who had taken up land in the island and some Royalist prisoners who had been deported from England.

Such were the beginnings of what became England's largest and most prosperous West Indian colony. Its strategic, central position in the Caribbean attracted to it not only the lawful trade of that area but also the buccaneers whose activities and loot enriched the island. At the same time its fertile land made possible, with slave labour, a plantation economy in which the cultivation of sugar predominated.

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THE BRITISH EMPIRE UNDER THE LATER STUARTS, 1660-1714

COLONIAL EXPANSION AFTER THE RESTORATION (1660)

Charles II continued the policy of the Commonwealth and Protectorate of controlling the colonies from the centre and extended the scope of the two Navigation Acts of 1650 and 1651. The Restoration brought a fresh outburst of colonization and this expansion took place chiefly along the North American coastline; by 1700 there was a continuous run of English colonies from Maine

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to South Carolina. These new colonies were chiefly due to the enterprise of courtiers and nobility, supported by Charles II and the Duke of York; the merchants and religious groups of the pioneer settlements under the first two Stuart kings were less prominent.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF NEW YORK, 1664

Anglo-Dutch hostility continued after the Restoration. One particular English grievance was the presence of the Dutch in the middle of the English colonies in North America. The Dutch West India Company had followed up Henry Hudson's discovery of the river to which he gave his name by establishing a trading colony along its banks; the object was to trade fur pelts from the Indian tribes along the upper parts of the river. This led to the colony of New Netherlands with settlements at New Amsterdam at the mouth of the river, on Long Island, and one settlement far up the river at the modern town of Albany. By 1660 this Dutch colony was well established, although its population never exceeded 10,000. Pressure soon developed from the neighbouring English colonies; there was a good deal of movement from Connecticut on the east and also from New England, whose settlers came to Long Island.

In 1660 the Navigation Act had tightened up control of the English colonies' exports, but the effect of this was lessened by the New Netherlands which was a convenient base through which English colonial exports could be smuggled and sent to Europe in Dutch ships. To close this gap in the system, the English in 1664 sent an expedition to capture this Dutch colony. The Governor, Peter Stuyvesant, could not put up any serious defence and the colony surrendered. Some months before its capture Charles II had issued letters patent conferring on his brother, James, Duke of York, the proprietorship of extensive lands in North America, including lands to the north of the New England colonies, and all the mainland between the Connecticut and Delaware rivers. Thus New Amsterdam became New York; the Dutch settlers were granted freedom of worship and guarantee of their property rights.

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NEW JERSEY

The land to the west of the Hudson, as far as the Delaware river, had been granted by the Duke of York to two courtiers, Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. From this resulted the colony of New Jersey. For some years this colony was divided into East Jersey and West Jersey, held by Carteret and Berkeley respectively. This division led to much confusion over boundaries and land grants. Berkeley sold his rights to Quakers who settled West Jersey. Similar confusion prevailed in East Jersey; in 1680, on Carteret's death, his proprietary rights were sold to a syndicate whose main interest was to make money out of the quit rents. Finally, in 1702, the two Jerseys were united into one colony under a royal Governor. The proprietors, however, still took quit rents from the occupiers of the soil. To attract settlers to this sparsely inhabited land, the proprietors guaranteed freedom of worship and promised a representative assembly to make laws and levy taxation. Many Quakers, other settlers from Europe, and migrants from New England colonies moved into the colony. New Jersey was chiefly engaged in farming, but it also did some shipbuilding which led to fishing and overseas trading.

NORTH AND SOUTH CAROLINA

The land to the south of Virginia had remained unsettled, in spite of Charles I's grant of it in 1629 to Sir Robert Heath. In 1663 Charles II granted this land to eight lord proprietors: among them were Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon; George Monk, Duke of Albermarle; Anthony Ashley Cooper, later Earl of Shaftesbury; and Sir George Carteret. A second charter in June 1665 extended their land from 36° 30' North to 29° North, and this grant took them some 65 miles south of the Spanish fort of St Augustine in Florida. The lord proprietors were the absolute owners of the soil and had authority to make laws in whatever government they created, although this had to be done through an elected assembly. Two colonies developed from this grant, known later as North Carolina and South Carolina. The first settlement was made by squatters

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from Virginia who moved from outside the southern border of that State to Albermarle Sound which became the nucleus of North Carolina. In 1663 Sir William Berkeley, Governor of Virginia, sent a Governor to take charge of this settlement at Albermarle Sound. The colony of South Carolina was slower in forming; it was not till 1670 that the first settlement was made at the junction of the Ashley and Cooper rivers, where the town of Charleston was founded.

The proprietors took much trouble to publicize their colony and to attract settlers by praising the soil, climate and the possibilities for advancement. The greatest inducement was that land could be obtained very cheaply; settlers could get 100 acres for themselves and 50 for each member of their family, subject to a payment of a very small quit rent of a halfpenny an acre to the proprietors. The land was very fertile and well wooded; it attracted settlers from the overpopulated island of Barbados and, after 1685, French Huguenot refugees.

The proprietors published an interesting but unworkable scheme for the government of their colony. This was called the 'Fundamental Constitutions', and was the work of Shaftesbury and his secretary, the philosopher John Locke. It proposed a semi-feudal society based on the possession of land. At the summit of this society were the lord proprietors, with very large estates followed by the lower ranks of landgraves (who were expected to own 48,000 acres), gentlemen commoners and yeomen. The minimum voting qualification for a yeoman was possession of not less than 50 acres of land. Parliament would represent the three interests of proprietors, nobility and freemen. This scheme received little support from the majority of the settlers, but attempts were made to put it into practice.

THE ECONOMY OF THE CAROLINAS

North Carolina was a colony of small farms producing tobacco, corn and cattle, with some extraction of tar and resin from the forests. South Carolina, on the other hand, developed into a plantation colony with negro slaves providing a labour supply for the exploitation of the abundant pine, oak and cedar forests which

The Economy of the Carolinas

provided lumber, tar and resin. The introduction of slaves led to the development of Charleston, since all slaves had to pass through that port. Like Virginia, South Carolina grew tobacco but it was by no means dependent on this crop to the extent that Virginia was. It also grew indigo, which produced a blue dye. More important was the development of rice-growing which started about 1690 as conditions were very favourable, with fertile soil, hot sun, ample water and abundant slave labour. In the eighteenth century rice became a staple export of South Carolina. In 1718 she exported some 9000 barrels of rice, 22,000 barrels of pitch and 33,000 barrels of tar besides various foodstuffs such as corn, beef, butter, pork, most of which went to the West Indian colonies to provide a food supply for the plantation slaves.

The beginning of the eighteenth century saw both colonies firmly established. Both of them increased their population by four or five times between 1720 and 1750; numerous immigrants came in, including Swiss, Germans, French Huguenots, Scots and Ulstermen. It was these later settlers who became the frontiersmen and pushed the boundaries of the colony farther west into the interior. The rule of the proprietors in both colonies disappeared during the first half of the eighteenth century. There were many complaints about their governments, its inefficiency, its extortion of rents and failure to provide proper defence against outside enemies. In 1719 South Carolina, at the invitation of its inhabitants, became a royal province, with North Carolina following suit in 1729. During the eighteenth century a brilliant society developed in Charleston, the capital of South Carolina, where the aristocracy of this colony, deriving a substantial income from plantations or successful trade, could imitate the civilized society of towns such as London or Boston.

PENNSYLVANIA, 1681

This colony was due to the efforts of a religious idealist, William Penn. As a young man Penn had suffered persecution in England because of his Quaker faith. He determined, therefore, to set up in America a colony which would provide a refuge for all Christians who could not live under the existing laws of their own country.

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He thought that in the new surroundings of America he could organize a State which would be a 'holy experiment'. Penn's father, Admiral Sir William Penn, was owed £16,000 by Charles II; Penn suggested that this debt could be satisfied if the king would make him a grant of land in America. In 1681 Charles granted Penn a large territory between New Jersey on the east and Maryland on the south. According to Penn, the name Pennsylvania was given to his colony not in honour of himself but it was the name the king would have given it in honour of his father, Admiral Penn.

Penn and his heirs were the proprietors of the soil of this colony subject to the yearly payment of two beaver skins to the king at Windsor Castle. His rights were extensive, although not as great as those of earlier proprietaries such as New York and Carolina. Thus Penn had to enforce the Navigation Acts; to submit to the Privy Council of England all laws passed in the colony; to permit the appeal of cases heard in the colony to the king's courts in England, and to allow the establishment of Anglican churches whenever as many as twenty people organized a congregation and asked for a preacher. The colony was ruled by the 'Frame of Government', the first of which was drawn up by Penn in 1682. Under this, the proprietor, that is Penn or a deputy appointed by him, was Governor; there was a Council elected by the freeholders and a popular assembly.

From the first the success of the colony was remarkable. Much of the credit for this was due to Penn himself. He wrote his publicity himself, which appeared in several languages besides English. It was circulated through western Europe and drew a wide response from thousands of humble people who saw the chance of a better life in the new colony. It had also the advantage of rich fertile lands and abundant forests. A capital was chosen, its site carefully surveyed, and on it was built the town of Philadelphia, the city of brotherly love. By 1770 its population had reached 40,000. Besides emigrants from the British Isles, including Quakers, Welshmen and Ulstermen, there were many German Protestants of various denominations, who came mostly from western Germany, particularly the Rhineland. They either suffered from religious persecution or were victims of poverty. The possi-

Pennsylvania, 1681

bility of a free life and the chance to achieve prosperity and salvation in a new society proved irresistibly attractive to them. Many of them were already in sympathy with Penn's pacifist views. These Germans made an important contribution to the success of Pennsylvania, bringing with them skill in farming and a knowledge of important peasant industries, such as weaving, shoe-making, wood-carving, cabinet-making and pottery.

GEORGIA, 1732

The foundation of Georgia, although it took place outside the Stuart period, can conveniently be described in this chapter. Named in honour of George II it was due to the humanitarian General James Oglethorpe, who wanted to help the poor and especially insolvent debtors who, by the law of the time, were liable to imprisonment if they could not pay their debts. The colony would also provide a home for Protestant refugees and also protection for South Carolina against attacks from the Spanish in Florida. In June 1732 Oglethorpe and his associates received a charter from the Crown, granting them the government of a colony situated between the Savannah and the Altamaha rivers. The charter vested the land in twenty-one trustees, whose proprietorship was to last until 1753 after which date the colony would revert to the Crown.

Oglethorpe wrote a pamphlet explaining the aims of the promoters of this colony. He pointed out that although there were certain practical difficulties such as the cost of the passage of the emigrants and the need for funds to tide the infant colony over the first few years, he had no doubt about the eventual success of his scheme. He wrote:

Under what difficulties was Virginia planted? A place and climate then unknown, the Indians numerous and an enmity with the first planters who were forced to fetch all provisions from England; yet it has grown a mighty province and the revenue receives £100,000 for duties upon goods that they send yearly home. Within this fifty years Pennsylvania was as much a forest as Georgia is now and in these few years, by the wise economy of William Penn and those who assisted him, it now gives food to 80,000 inhabitants and can boast of as fine a city as most in Europe.

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The first settlers reached the colony in January 1733. A few years later, there were arrivals from Europe, including a party of German Lutherans from Salzburg, fleeing from religious persecution. Those who emigrated at the expense of the trustees received 50 acres of land which they held for life, subject to payment of a quit rent. One stipulation was that the tenants should clear 10 acres and plant at least 100 mulberry trees. It was hoped to produce large amounts of raw silk from silkworms to be fed on the leaves from the mulberry trees. This hope was in fact not realized. Others who emigrated at their own expense received land at the rate of 50 acres for each white adult, subject to the payment of a quit rent and the planting of 1000 mulberry trees on each 100 acres. As this was a frontier colony, the trustees set up carefully planned, compact village settlements. They forbade the colonists to have Negro slaves or to import or manufacture rum and brandy. All three prohibitions proved exceedingly unpopular and were eventually abandoned whereupon the economy and social life of Georgia soon came to resemble that of North and South Carolina.

The colony was only a moderate success and as a home for insolvent debtors it was a failure; of the 1500 English debtors who went to Georgia many had left the colony within a few years. When the colony reverted to the Crown in 1753, the total population was no more than about 2000 whites and 1000 Negro slaves. Its greatest success in its early years was the defeat of Spanish attacks from Florida in the war with Spain after 1739. The future of the colony was like that of the Carolinas, bound up with a plantation economy cultivating rice in the swamplands with slave labour.

THE DOMINION OF NEW ENGLAND, 1684-8

Towards the end of Charles II's reign, stricter enforcement of the Navigation Acts in the New England colonies was attempted, because these colonies were deliberately evading the Acts, particularly in connection with the export of colonial produce to Europe. The reports of Edward Randolph who was sent over in 1676 to investigate showed that the New Englanders frequently exceeded the powers given by their charters and often conspired to evade

The Dominion of New England, 1684-8

royal authority. In October 1684 Charles II declared that the charter of Massachusetts was forfeit; Connecticut and Rhode Island lost their charters in 1686 and 1687 respectively. These New England colonies were then formed into the Dominion of New England and Sir Edmund Andros was sent out as Governor-General. The representative assemblies were suppressed but Andros ruled with a council which had some representatives of the colonials. The aim of this Dominion of New England was to give the Crown greater power to enforce the laws of trade, and also more unity in face of the growing threat from French Canada. In 1688 New York and New Jersey were added to the Dominion. When the news of the Revolution of 1688 reached America, the Dominion ended. The colonies recovered their charters, though in the case of Massachusetts it was not quite the same as the old one; under the new charter the king appointed the Governor, whereas previously he had been elected.

THE HUDSON BAY COMPANY

In 1610 Henry Hudson had discovered the Bay that bears his name. French trappers some fifty years later discovered that the land lying to the south of the Bay was rich in furs. Getting no support from their own government, they brought the news to English interests who founded the Hudson Bay Company to work this fur-bearing area. Like other colonial enterprises of the Restoration, this Company was backed by influential courtiers including Prince Rupert, cousin of King Charles II. By 1682 a number of trading posts had been set up on the southern shores of Hudson Bay. These were not very firmly held and the English occupation was challenged by the French from Canada. Hostilities continued here during the two Anglo-French wars, from 1689 to 1697 and from 1701 to 1713, but by the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), the English position on Hudson Bay was fully recognized by the French who handed back the forts they had captured to the Company. The boundary was also established, which gave the Company a vast territory to the west of French Canada running on the south along the parallel of latitude 49° North. The Company

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prospered with its chief export of beaver fur; there was a considerable demand for this in Europe for hat making. The beaver fur had fine barbs at the end of its hairs which made them stick well to the felt base of the hat.

THE END OF PROPRIETARY RULE IN THE LEEWARD ISLANDS

The chief problem to be settled in the West Indies in 1660 was that of the claims arising from the Carlisle patent. There were at least five or six distinct groups of interests. Among them was Lord Francis Willoughby, who claimed under the lease he had received from Carlisle; secondly there was Carlisle himself and the rights of his heirs and also those of his long-suffering creditors. A third group were the planters of Barbados, whose particular demand was that proprietary rule should end and that their lands should be granted to them as freehold properties; to achieve this they were ready to make a money grant to the Crown. There were also the claims of the descendants of Sir William Courteen. Finally, Willoughby and the heirs of Carlisle surrendered the patent to the Crown, which, in return for a revenue from the islands, granted lands to the holders in freehold tenure and extinguished the proprietary rights. Of the revenue granted, Willoughby was to receive half for life and also to be Governor of the island for the remaining seven years of his lease. The other half of the revenue was to provide pensions for the heirs of the Earl of Carlisle and also to pay off two-thirds of his debts. When the debts were paid, the revenue, except for the pension to the heirs of Carlisle, was to revert to the Crown; the islands included in the original Carlisle patent now became royal colonies. Willoughby himself went out to the West Indies and induced each assembly of the Leeward islands to vote for the use of the Crown a $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent duty on all produce exported from the islands.

The British Empire under the later Stuarts, 1660-1714

WAR IN THE CARIBBEAN, 1664-7

In 1664 England was at war with the Dutch and French, whose activities in the West Indies showed what damage could be done by a resolute enemy to the English sugar islands; the pattern of warfare for the next 150 years in this area was made clear. In 1665 Barbados was attacked by the Dutch Admiral, de Ruyter. The attack was repulsed, but the other islands were not so fortunate. The French in St Kitts captured the English half of the island in 1666 and in the same year took Antigua; early in 1667 they conquered the neighbouring island of Montserrat. Enemy damage to the plantations caused many English settlers to leave the islands, having lost most of their property including their slaves. Peace in 1667 led to a restoration of conquests but it took some time to recover these islands and longer to set up the plantations again. In 1671 the government of Barbados was separated from that of the other Leeward islands, the latter getting a separate Governor. In 1672 Sir William Stapleton became Governor of these islands and remained there till 1685. Under his direction considerable progress was achieved and some attempt was made to carry out punitive raids against the Caribs of the islands of St Vincent and Dominica. Barbados had other grievances such as the 4½ per cent produce duty, the proceeds of which were not spent in the island, paying for such things as defence; the monopoly of the Royal African Company which supplied slaves, and also the restrictions of the Navigation Acts, particularly that which related to the compulsory shipment of sugar to the mother-country.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF JAMAICA

Charles II kept Cromwell's conquest of Jamaica; the problem was to give it a civil government and to bring in settlers. In 1662 Lord Windsor was sent out as Governor; liberal grants of land were made to those who would settle there. There was also the grant of an Assembly to make laws and the promise of the rights of Englishmen. The successful development of the island dates from 1664, when Sir Thomas Modyford became Governor. From Barbados

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he brought with him some 800 settlers and his knowledge of plantations undoubtedly contributed to the successful development of Jamaica. In 1670 by the Treaty of Madrid Spain recognized the English possession of Jamaica, while England promised that she would stop the buccaneer activities.

An important event in Jamaican history was the attempt in 1678 by the Crown to take away the legislative independence of the Jamaica Assembly. The Earl of Carlisle was sent out as Governor with thirty-seven laws prepared in London and passed under the Great Seal of England. His instructions were that the Jamaica Council and Assembly were to accept these laws; they refused and great opposition arose. Finally the Crown, on the advice of its law officers, did not persist and by 1680 Jamaica had established her legislative independence. In future her laws would be made like those of any other settled colony, with a clause starting: 'Be it enacted by the Governor, Council and Assembly.' Some doubt had arisen in the case of Jamaica because originally it was a conquered and not a settled colony. This decision foreshadowed the doctrine that the Crown, once it had granted a representative assembly by its prerogative, could not subsequently withdraw this grant of an assembly.

THE BUCCANEERS

The buccaneers were communities of French, English and Dutch, who infested the Caribbean during the seventeenth century. Their principal occupation was ruthless war upon the Spaniards in this area. They acquired their name from their practice of hunting the herds of wild cattle in Hispaniola and drying the meat which they sold to any passing vessels. 'Boucan' is an Indian word which describes the method of curing the meat, which was to smoke it over a slow fire of green wood. The Spaniards tried to destroy these men, but with little success. After 1635 the buccaneer headquarters were on the small island of Tortuga, which lay off the north-west coast of Hispaniola. The buccaneers attracted to their ranks a motley crowd of sailors who had deserted their ships, indentured servants who had left their masters and a certain criminal element

The Buccaneers

as well. Shortly before 1660 the English buccaneers moved to the new colony of Jamaica, where they made their headquarters at Port Royal. Their presence was welcomed in the island as a help against the Spaniards who were trying to reconquer the island. Governor Modyford was given instructions not to encourage the buccaneers in any way in their attacks upon the Spaniards. He made no attempt to carry out this order and for the next six years he was actively concerned with the English buccaneers' raids from Jamaica. In fact he had little choice in the matter because when war with Holland and France started in 1664, the buccaneers were an indispensable force to defend Jamaica.

The English buccaneers had already made several successful raids on Cuba and upon the Spanish settlements in Central America. In 1668 the first of the celebrated expeditions of Henry Morgan took place. Morgan, originally an indentured servant, had served under the buccaneer commander, Mansfield. Upon the latter's death he had become the leader and in 1668 after a successful raid on Cuba he attacked Porto Bello on the Isthmus of Panama. After its capture the town was thoroughly looted and Morgan's men carried off a quarter of a million pieces of eight. In 1669 he took Maracaibo on the Spanish Main and tortured the inhabitants to make them reveal where they kept their money. Shortly after leaving Maracaibo, Morgan captured three Spanish ships with silver and took this plunder back to Port Royal. In 1670 Morgan carried out his last and greatest exploit. He led an expedition of some 1500 men against the Spanish towns on the Main and to round off this expedition he marched across the Isthmus and attacked, and in early 1671 plundered and destroyed, Panama.

But the days of the English buccaneers were numbered. The Treaty of Madrid between England and Spain had condemned the practice of buccaneering, Governor Modyford had been recalled: the new Governor now used Morgan to put down the buccaneers, on the principle of the old poacher turned gamekeeper. Morgan was not over-zealous in suppressing them but in any case the future of Jamaica lay in peaceful trading rather than in buccaneering. Some buccaneers were persuaded to turn planters, some went to the logwood cutting settlements in Central America, while others

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joined the French buccaneers, who continued their activities for another fifteen or twenty years.

THE LOGWOOD CUTTERS

In the seventeenth century the logwood cutters, from whose activities the colony of British Honduras eventually resulted, were at work on the Central American coast from the Bay of Campeche to the Moskito Coast (see map 2). The wood of the logwood tree provided a dye giving black, dark blue and purple colours; it was in great demand in Europe and prices were high. The exact date when logging started is not known: 1638 is given for the first landings in the Bay of Honduras and 1640 for the settlement made there by Captain Wallace the buccaneer. Belize, the name of this settlement, is probably a corruption of the word Wallace. When Jamaica became an English colony many sailors and ex-buccaneers from there went to cut wood on the shores of the Bay of Campeche. South of Honduras there were loggers on the Moskito Coast where the Indians (who claimed English protection) gave them active help against the Spaniards. The success of these English 'Baymen' is partly explained by the fact that Spain was not in effective occupation of all this Central American coast line. For the next hundred years Spain made constant attempts to drive out these intruders, a difficult task because even if expelled they returned to their old haunts within a year or two. The most that Spain could achieve was to recover the Campeche area in 1716, but the Belize river settlement she could not eliminate although she attacked and sacked it half a dozen times between 1718 and 1754. By the Peace of Paris (1763) Spain undertook not to interfere in any way with the English logwood cutters.

THE BAHAMAS

The Bahamas were a group of scattered islands lying to the north of the Caribbean chain. They had been granted in 1629 by Charles I to Sir Robert Heath, but nothing had resulted. In 1649 the Commonwealth had made a grant to Captain Sayle, who tried to set up a colony with settlers from the island of Bermuda. This

The Bahamas

colony had a very moderate success and only a few settlers remained. In 1670 Charles II granted the islands to six of the lord proprietors of Carolina, giving them power to appoint a Governor and a Council and to set up an Assembly. The islands soon became a base for privateers and pirates. The Spaniards retaliated in 1684 by landing and destroying the principal settlement known as New Providence. The colony was temporarily abandoned, but a few years later the settlers returned and the colony was re-established. The islands remained a pirate base until about 1718, when most of the pirates submitted and received a pardon. The Governor who received this submission had a low opinion of the inhabitants of the Bahamas. He said of them: 'For work they mortally hate it and pray for nothing but wrecks or the pirate.'

7

TRADE, GOVERNMENT AND SOCIETY IN THE OLD EMPIRE

THE ECONOMIC THEORY OF EMPIRE

The strongest driving force behind the first British empire of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was trade. Most Englishmen regarded the colonies as being concerned essentially with goods and markets. They did not at this time think of the colonies as extensions overseas of England, nor did they have much feeling of brotherhood with the colonials. It was a matter-of-fact attitude connected with markets and trade. Put at its simplest, the colonies could supply certain commodities that the mother-country could

Trade, Government and Society in the Old Empire

not produce for herself and in return the colonies would take the manufactures of the mother-country. A narrow view perhaps, but it was widely held at the time and was practised in other empires, such as those of France and Spain. The British empire in the eighteenth century was regarded as a large commercial concern, consisting of two main parts, the mother-country and the colonies. These two parts were complementary and were not meant to compete against each other. In this relationship the colonies were subservient to the mother-country. Their interests were considered, it is true, but they were looked upon as being essentially subordinate. Because the mother-country had gone to considerable expense to found and populate these colonies it was thought only fair that she should reap a return for her outlay. To regulate this somewhat narrow relationship there was an elaborate system of trade laws which would, in the last resort, preserve the monopoly for the mother-country.

THE LAWS OF TRADE

The start of the system was in 1650 and 1651 when two Navigation Acts were passed. Their aim was to exclude all foreign countries from trading with English colonies; and to assist the development of the English merchant marine by enacting that goods from Asia, Africa and America must be shipped in English or colonial ships, or in the ships of the country that originally produced the goods. At the Restoration in 1660, the Acts were extended to include commodities besides ships and seamen. In 1660 a Navigation Act said that the export and import trade of the English colonies could only be carried by English, Irish or colonial-built ships; three-quarters of the crews of these ships must be of English, Irish or colonial nationality. More important was the clause relating to the 'enumerated' commodities: the Act stated that certain commodities, such as sugar, tobacco, indigo, cotton, ginger, dyewoods, could be shipped only to England or to other English colonies. The aim was to give the mother-country control of the more valuable colonial products, either for her own consumption or for re-export from England to other countries. To this list of commodities, others were

The Laws of Trade

later added; in 1704 rice and molasses were enumerated, with others, such as naval stores, beaver furs and coffee added later in the eighteenth century.

In 1663 the Staple Act was passed. This regulated imports into the colonies and enacted that goods of non-English origin could only be imported by the colonies if they were first shipped to England and then re-exported from there in English or colonial ships. Exceptions to this rule were that salt, used for the salting of fish in North America, could be imported directly from Europe, and also wines from Madeira. This Act well illustrates the spirit of the laws of trade, which were based on the idea of the subordination of the colonies to the economic interests of the mother-country. Had it not been for this Staple Act of 1663, the colonists would have been free to buy their imports in any market and to ship them directly. Such an idea was inconceivable to the mother-country because of the loss she would have suffered if such freedom had been granted to her colonies. The Plantation Duties Act of 1673 aimed at preventing quantities of enumerated commodities being shipped to foreign countries; this had been done in the course of inter-colonial trade. The Act of 1673 imposed export duties on all colonial shippers who could not give security that they were exporting these enumerated commodities to England only. The colonies grumbled, but accepted these laws of trade. They were well aware that the system gave them guaranteed markets for their produce, with preference over similar exports from foreign countries. Furthermore, it was not difficult to evade these regulations by organized smuggling and this was done on a considerable scale by some colonies such as New England. Enforcement was rather lax in the early years and in 1696 a final Navigation Act was passed to strengthen control and enforcement of the Acts. It provided that colonial governors must take an oath to enforce the Acts, with severe penalties for non-compliance. It gave more power to customs officials to enforce the Acts and also set up vice-admiralty courts in the colonies. These courts had jurisdiction over colonial shipping caught breaking the law and the advantage that they sat without juries, which enabled convictions to be secured that a colonial jury would not have agreed to.

Trade, Government and Society in the Old Empire

In the same way as Great Britain claimed the exclusive control of the commodities produced by her colonies, so likewise she insisted on a monopoly market in the colonies for her manufactured goods. Laws were therefore passed to prevent the colonies manufacturing goods for themselves, although in actual fact the colonies did not, during this period, do much to compete in manufactures. Their interest lay in other directions, notably land and its development. The cost of colonial labour was high and it was therefore unlikely that any colonial manufactures would be able to undersell those from Great Britain. Any industries that flourished were those in which the colonies had certain natural advantages. Thus in New England particularly there was a shipbuilding industry, which prospered because it had all the raw materials at hand; the beaver hat industry also flourished, because its raw material, beaver fur, was easily obtainable. Nevertheless, to safeguard the monopoly of the mother-country there was much legislation: 1669 the Woollen Act prohibited the export of woollen goods from any of the colonies to another colony; 1732 the Hat Act prohibited the manufacture of beaver hats in the colonies. The Iron Act of 1750 aimed at obtaining for the mother-country all the pig iron produced in the colonies with the further prohibition of any colonial manufacture of rolled or wrought iron.

COLONIAL TRADE

What did the colonies trade in, with whom did they trade and where did they trade? The tropical plantation colonies had a ready outlet for their produce, such as sugar, rice, tobacco, indigo. The temperate colonies, such as New England, were less fortunate because their products were much the same as those of the mother-country, except they had forests which could provide naval stores essential for the upkeep of Great Britain's sea power. There were three major areas of trade for the colonies. First, Great Britain; secondly, the inter-colonial trade, especially between the northern American colonies and the West Indies; and thirdly, southern Europe.

The bulk of the colonial trade was with Great Britain; probably

Colonial Trade

50 per cent of the exports went there. New England exported timber in various forms, boards and planks, hoops and staves; Virginia, Maryland, the Carolinas and Georgia sent large quantities of tobacco to Great Britain. The Carolinas were also rice exporters, together with indigo from which a blue dye was made. The British West Indian colonies exported sugar, rum, coffee, cotton and ginger to the mother-country.

The most important market of inter-colonial trade was in the British West Indies. The islands had concentrated to such an extent on the production of sugar and other tropical produce that they were dependent for their food supply on imports from the American mainland colonies. A large trade was carried on by the mainland colonies in the following commodities: timber, principally staves and hoops for the casks in which the brown sugar was exported from the West Indies; bread, flour, rice, salt fish and other food-stuffs for the plantation slaves. Horses and many accessories of plantation life, such as iron, soap and candles, were also exported from the American colonies. In return the Americans took back cargoes of cocoa, coffee, cotton, molasses, sugar and rum.

With southern European countries like Portugal and Spain, the colonies built up an export trade in the first half of the eighteenth century; the chief exports were salt fish, rice, grain, rum and timber. To assist this trade, the Navigation Acts were relaxed to the extent that some enumerated commodities, for example, rice, could be exported directly without first shipping it to England.

THE SLAVE TRADE

In the trade and economic organization of the old colonial empire, slavery and the slave trade played an important part. The plantation economies in the colonies of the European empires relied on slavery for their labour supply; if this supply declined, then output of the valuable tropical products quickly diminished. Secondly, the import of slaves from Africa, the business of buying and shipping them to the New World was of key importance in the trade organization of the old colonial empire.

The import of Negro slaves into the English colonies, such as

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Virginia and Barbados, began about the middle of the seventeenth century. To ensure a supply of slaves for the English colonies and to share in the profits of this inhuman but lucrative trade, the Royal African Company was chartered in 1672. It set up slaving stations on the West Coast of Africa at Fort James, on the Gambia river, and also at Sierra Leone and Cape Coast Castle on the Gold Coast. The trade was carried on from the English slaving ports of Liverpool, Bristol and London. Well-constructed vessels, quite heavily armed, with good crews were used. They were known as slavers. Their outward cargo from England consisted of textiles, muskets, powder, rum and trinkets. On arrival at the slave coast of West Africa negotiations took place with the slave dealers who brought their slaves from inland down to the coast, where they were kept in pens or barracoons. After buying a cargo of slaves and embarking them, the slaver sailed the 'Middle Passage' from Africa across the Atlantic to the Caribbean or Brazil. The wretched slaves were shackled for most of the voyage and packed in very close order into the boat. It was, however, in the interest of the slavers to deliver their cargoes alive rather than dead when they reached America. In the seventeenth century the price of a slave in Africa was about £3 or £4 with a selling price in America or the West Indies of £17 or £20 a head. By the middle of the eighteenth century, with the development of the plantation economies of the West Indian islands and mainland colonies, the price of slaves rose to between £30 and £40 a head. The slavers usually took their payment in sugar, indigo, molasses, rum and then sailed for the third leg of their journey back to England. There were numerous slavers from the New England ports who made the same sort of triangular run and carried the same sort of goods at all three stages. It was a highly profitable trade; the ships were rarely in ballast and a profit was made at each of the three stages of the voyage.

THE OLD REPRESENTATIVE SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT

The English settlers of the seventeenth century took with them the legal and political rights of Englishmen which included the common law and representation in Parliament. This influenced the develop-

The Old Representative System of Government

ment during the latter half of the seventeenth century of the 'Old Representative System' of government. All the settled colonies of the first empire had this and it was granted to some, but not all, of the colonies captured in the Seven Years War. The three parts of this system were Governor, Council and Assembly. The colonists claimed that these were the equivalent of the King, Lords and Commons of Great Britain.

The Governor was an important part of this system. He represented the Crown and was also head of the local government of the colony, where many difficult tasks faced him. He had to enforce trade laws which were often resented by the colonists. He often had to deal with difficult assemblies who opposed all his measures and kept him short of the money needed for government. The Governor was responsible for the defence of the colony and this was often difficult because the assemblies refused to grant the money for this. Again, he had to be wary lest the Assembly and Council passed laws which were not acceptable to the government in London. Usually the Governor's instructions gave him detailed instructions concerning the kinds of laws of the local Assembly to which he was to refuse assent. It was essential that the Governors should be men of integrity and ability, but unfortunately there were many who were quite unfitted for their exacting task.

The Council took the place of the House of Lords in the colonial legislature: theoretically it had equality with the House of Assembly to introduce Bills but as time went on the Assembly claimed this right as theirs alone. Membership of the Council was by royal appointment and those appointed were usually men of property who were naturally inclined to support the Governor and his policy. The size of the Council varied. The average membership was twelve, although some of the smaller West Indian islands had less than this. In Massachusetts, exceptionally, there was a large Council of twenty-eight. The Council acted as a Privy or Executive council for the Governor and sitting with him it gave assent to his administrative Acts. It also had a judicial capacity and, sitting under the presidency of the Governor, acted as a Court of Appeal for the colony, although there was the further right of appeal to the King in Council.

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The Assembly was the representative of the freeholders of the colony. Sometimes the electors were numerous, but in the smaller colonies, and especially the West Indian islands, the voters were often very few. As a result the quality of the Assembly men suffered; the smaller colonies could not provide sufficient men of education and political experience to provide a satisfactory assembly. Thus in 1724 the Lieutenant-Governor of Bermuda, John Hope, wrote to the Board of Trade recommending an Act for lessening the number of men in the Assembly. He gives a long account of his difficulties with an ignorant Assembly:

The General Assembly is constituted by the free election of the inhabitants, called freeholders. There are nine parishes, each of which sends four representatives to sit and vote in the Assembly. When the Assembly is summoned, it is impracticable to keep them longer together than three days else their families would starve for want of fish and their negroes would turn loose. Of the 36 members perhaps most of them can read and write; but to my experience there is not six in this House that has any notion of public business, either tending towards the support of their government or to the advancement of the trade and interest of their country. It is fitter to be imagined than for me to tell your Lordships the effects which rum punch produces in an Assembly of 36 men such as I have described.

The colonial Assemblies claimed all the privileges of the English House of Commons, such as freedom of speech, freedom from arrest, freedom of access to the Governor and the right to elect their own Speaker. In matter of procedure they usually followed that of the House of Commons. Their powers of legislation were, theoretically, considerable; but in practice they were limited by two factors. First, they could not pass laws that were repugnant to the laws of England and, secondly, the Governor had an extensive list of subjects on which legislation by the colonial Assembly was not permitted. He had power to veto legislation or to suspend it unless it was approved by the king in Council.

In spite of the defects of the Old Representative system, such as its incompetent Governors and turbulent assemblies, it was worthwhile because it transplanted into new countries the representative system of England. It gave practice for future development in matters of government, and the Old Representative system can be

The Old Representative System of Government

regarded as laying the foundation for the later constitutional development of the British Empire.

IMPERIAL CONTROL OF THE COLONIES

Control of the first British empire was shared in Great Britain by several departments of State; there was no 'specialist' Minister as later, namely, the Secretary of State for the Colonies. In the eighteenth century the colonies were the concern, among other more important matters, of the two Secretaries of State, who dealt with the defence of the colonies and made recommendations to the Crown for the appointment of colonial governors. The Privy Council issued royal Orders-in-Council affecting the colonies and also received, in its judicial capacity, cases on appeal from them. The Board of Trade was the department most closely concerned and was the channel through which passed the reports and letters from the colonial governors and officials. Consequently the Board knew more about the colonies than anyone else and on its information could build up something like a colonial policy which it could recommend for action (it had no executive power of its own) by its political superiors, the Secretaries of State.

GROWTH OF THE COLONIAL POPULATION

In the sixty years after 1700 the growth of population in North America was rapid. In 1715 the total white population of the English North American colonies was just over 375,000; by 1763 this figure had risen to one and a quarter million. The Negro population increased equally fast; in 1715 there were just over 50,000 Negroes; in 1763 there were 250,000 of whom three-quarters were in the southern colonies, where the plantation economy had developed rapidly. The increase in the white population was due to the constant stream of emigrants from the old world (particularly in the 1720's and 1730's) and the natural rate of increase, which, due to a healthier life and better diet, was slightly higher than in Europe.

The life of all these American colonies was dominated by the

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necessity of cultivating the soil, whether it was the small farm of New England or the great plantations of Virginia and Carolina. Probably about nine-tenths of the population were directly occupied in cultivating the soil. The remainder were sailors, fishermen, traders or merchants, or professional men such as doctors and lawyers.

SOCIAL LIFE IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES

New England was a land of small towns, large villages and modest-sized farms. There was also shipbuilding and fishing carried on by the inhabitants of the ports and villages on the Atlantic coast. Social life was intimate as was natural in closely grouped habitations. Each town and village had its church, its meeting-house, its schoolhouse, pillory, stocks and cattle pound. Most of the New England houses were built of wood, but brick was coming into use. In 1715 Boston, the chief town of Massachusetts, had about 20,000 inhabitants, with some 3000 houses, two-thirds of which were built of wood. The interior of the average New England house was not luxuriously furnished, but it was well equipped with essentials; besides the domestic articles such as beds, pewter, earthenware and wooden dishes, pots, kettles, lamps and candlesticks, most houses had such accessories as shoemaker's tools and shoe leather, a simple medicine chest, lamps and guns.

In the middle colonies of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, there were small farms like those of New England, but also many large plantations, some of which ran into thousands of acres in extent. The rich merchants and planters of these colonies had their country residences as well as their town houses in Philadelphia, New York and Burlington. The southern colony of Virginia was characterized by the wide-open spaces of large plantations, self-sufficient for their own requirements and society and quite different from the closely settled and grouped villages and towns of New England. Estates in North and South Carolina and Georgia were somewhat smaller than those of Virginia. In their homes the wealthy planters could show a good deal of solid comfort. This was also true of the wealthy merchant class that was developing in colonial society, particularly in the middle colonies and in Carolina.

Social Life in the American Colonies

There was often fashionable mahogany furniture, tables and chairs, occasional tables, silver plate, good glass, china and well-appointed bedrooms and living-rooms. These furnishings were mostly imported from Great Britain, but an increasing number of them were made by colonial craftsmen.

In this great and fertile land there was an abundance of food-stuffs either cultivated by the colonists or drawn from wild supplies. The woods were teeming with game birds such as wild turkeys, pigeons, geese, ducks. The rivers and seas were well stocked with fish. Vegetables and fruit, many of them varieties imported from the old world, flourished in the new. There were various drinks, some of them native and some imported from outside. The colonists in the northern colonies drank great quantities of strong cider and ale, and also distilled rum from the molasses imported from the West Indies. Wines were imported in considerable quantity from Madeira, the Canary Islands and Europe. The great problem for the colonial housewife was how to preserve the abundance of food-stuffs and there is evidence to show that many of them were skilled and ingenious in the job of making use of the foodstuffs at their disposal.

This vigorous colonial society showed considerable enterprise in amusing itself. Besides hunting for sport and for filling the pot, it had many other amusements. Card-playing and horse-racing were widely popular in the middle and southern colonies. Cock fighting, a novelty from England, was particularly prominent in Virginia and Carolina. There was considerable interest in pedigree horses and the southern colonies had many fine blood horses imported from England. In the bigger towns, like Boston and Charleston, balls and dances were held, invitations for which were much sought after if they took place at the Governor's residence. Concerts were given in these towns and a few theatres were opened in the early years of the eighteenth century in the middle and southern colonies. In New England and Quaker Pennsylvania there were moral objections to theatres and acting which took a long time to overcome.

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EDUCATION

All the American colonies made an effort to provide education but there were many difficulties, the greatest being scattered population. It was notable that in the more compact settlements of New England education for children was more extensive and successful. In New England all towns had primary schools and in some of the bigger towns there were free grammar schools. In the primary schools the subjects taught were the elementary ones of reading, writing and arithmetic. Of the other colonies Maryland was nearest to having a public system of primary education. In New York the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel set up a number of primary schools. In all the colonies, particularly the southern ones, there were many private schools. The southern planters often solved the problem of education by engaging a private tutor from England or Scotland to teach their children. Alternatively the wealthier planters could afford to send their sons to England for schooling there. For girls the opportunities for education were somewhat limited. They were not as a rule admitted to the primary schools of the New England colonies, but a number of schools for them were set up by the Moravians, a German Protestant sect. Some attempts were also made, especially by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, to give education to Indians and Negroes. Higher education was already provided for in the American colonies by names that were later to become famous. Thus in Massachusetts there was the college of Harvard, in Connecticut that of Yale. Virginia had its college of William and Mary at Williamsburg. Other colonies such as New Jersey, Rhode Island, New York and Pennsylvania also had university colleges. These colleges granted degrees mostly in the arts and therefore those who wished to study medicine had to go to England, Scotland or to Europe. Increasing numbers of books, magazines, and pamphlets, were imported from England. The books covered all subjects from the serious to the trivial. Subscription libraries were formed in some of the colonies before 1750, while many individuals had their own small private libraries from which they lent to their eager friends.

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WEST INDIAN SOCIETY

The British West Indian colonies had developed essentially as plantation colonies, as their population figures show. In the middle of the eighteenth century the total white population in the British islands did not exceed 50,000; there were however nearly five times the number of Negroes. Relative to its size Barbados had the greatest white population, and considerably more than the much larger island of Jamaica. White society was dominated by the planter. When he was in residence this was usually reflected in the condition and efficiency of his estate. More often than not, and especially if the price of sugar was high and profitable, he was an absentee, spending his time in England at some place of pleasure like Bath spa. If he was absent his interests would usually be looked after by an attorney, who was often corrupt and who robbed his absentee employer in various ways. He could exploit the estate and the slaves in his own interests. Often he had a ranch of his own and from this he would sell cattle and provisions at ruinous rates to the estate he was looking after. The detailed work of management was supervised by an overseer, often a Scotsman. During growing time his job was to supervise the cultivation of the plantation by the slaves. At crop time he had a worrying and exacting job, for the making of the sugar involved work by day and night and the quality of the sugar depended largely on close supervision.

THE SUGAR ECONOMY

The most important crop was sugar cane, from which was obtained sugar and its by-products of molasses and rum. Other lesser crops were coffee, cotton, indigo and pimento. A sugar plantation was an elaborate affair. Not only was a considerable extent of land required, but also elaborate buildings and equipment in which the sugar was made. It needed a large labour force most of which was unskilled, but with some skilled labour such as carpenters and coopers who made the casks in which the newly made sugar was placed. Of the plantation land perhaps about a third was under cultivation with cane, with another third given over to grazing land,

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grass land, provision land, and perhaps the remaining third might be woodland. Dominating the plantation was the great house, the residence of the planter or in his absence sometimes that of the overseer or attorney. This building was usually sited in a prominent position set back from its approach road which was lined with palm or cedar trees. Near by was an extensive range of buildings: the mill house, the boiling house, the cooling house, the still house, the various workshops for the carpenters, coopers and blacksmiths, the infirmary or hospital and, not far away, the Negro village where the majority of the slaves lived in their cabins.

The field slaves were divided into three groups or gangs. The following description of them was written towards the end of the eighteenth century by a historian of the West Indies, Bryan Edwards:

The Negroes are divided into three sets or classes, usually called gangs; the first consisting of the most healthy and robust men and women, whose chief business it is, out of crop time, to clear, hole and plant the ground; and, in crop time, to cut the canes, feed the mill, and tend the manufacture of the sugar. It is computed that, in the whole body of the Negroes on a well-conditioned plantation, there are commonly found one third of this description, exclusive of the domestics and Negro tradesmen, viz. carpenters, coopers and masons with which each well regulated plantation is provided. The second gang is composed of young boys and girls, women far gone with child and convalescent, who are chiefly employed in weeding canes and other light work adapted to their strength and condition; and the third set consists of young children, attended by a careful old woman, who are employed in collecting green meat for the pigs and sheep or in weeding the garden or some such gentle exercise merely to preserve them from habits of idleness. The first gang is summoned to the labours of the field either by a bell or by the blowing of a conch shell just before sunrise. They bring with them, besides their hoes and bills, provisions for breakfast; the list being called over and the names of all absentees noted, they proceed with their work till eight or nine o'clock, when they sit down in the shade for breakfast. Having resumed their work after breakfast they continue in the field till noon, when the bell calls them from labour. They are now allowed two hours of rest and refreshment; one of which is commonly spent in sleep. At two o'clock they are again summoned to the fields. At sunset or soon after they are released for the night and if the day has been wet or their labours harder than usual they are sometimes indulged with an allowance of rum. On the whole as the length of a day

The Sugar Economy

in the latitude of the West Indies differs very little throughout the year, I can see that they are employed daily about ten hours in the service of their master, Sundays and holidays excepted. In the crop season, however, the system is different; for at that time, such of the Negroes that are employed in the mill and boiling house often work very late, frequently all night; but they are divided into watches which relieve each other according to the practice among seamen; and it is remarkable at this season the Negroes enjoy higher health and vigour than at any other season of the year; the circumstance undoubtedly owing to the free and unrestrained use which they are allowed to make of the ripe cane, the cane liquor and syrup.

The hardest work of the field slaves was the digging of holes for the planting of new canes. This had to be done sometimes every year on the poor land, although on the better land it was not necessary so often. The holes were about four feet square and nine inches deep and about sixty to eighty a day were expected of a slave. It was undoubtedly hard and heavy work, especially on clay soil. The other heavy work was involved in the crop collecting. This usually started in February and lasted for several months. The canes were cut with cutlasses and taken to the mill, where they were passed through the cylinders to squeeze the juice. The juice passed to the boiling house and then to various wooden cisterns into which lime was introduced to separate the impurities. From these receivers the liquid went to the copper clarifiers and then passed into the copper boilers, where heat was applied to evaporate the liquor. The reduced liquor then passed to the coolers for the sugar to crystallize, after which it was taken to the curing houses. The sugar was emptied into the hogsheads and allowed to stand for forty-eight hours, the molasses drained away to be used later in the manufacture of rum. The raw sugar after a few more weeks in the hogshead was ready for export.

WAR AND EMPIRE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

RISE OF GREAT BRITAIN AS A COLONIAL AND COMMERCIAL POWER

In the second half of the seventeenth century England had risen fast as a naval, commercial and colonial power. In three wars between 1652 and 1674, she had successfully checked Dutch rivalry in the world contest for the profit and power that ships, trade and colonies brought. During the next eighty years she continued her expansion at the expense of France and Spain by taking part in the European wars of the time. While England wished to maintain the balance of power in the European states system and to prevent French interference on behalf of the exiled Stuarts, her greatest interest was in colonial and commercial development. Thus in the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-13) a decisive reason for England's intervention was the fear that France might get control of the great trading area of the Spanish American empire which the English merchants had earmarked for themselves. In the later wars of the eighteenth century Great Britain's colonial and commercial interests were even more clearly shown as a reason for her participation.

THE TREATY OF UTRECHT, 1713

It has been said with some truth that the Spanish Succession war was started by a king but that the merchants made the peace. Certainly Great Britain's colonial, commercial and naval interests were well looked after by the Treaty of Utrecht. In North America the French were forced to accept English control of footholds on the approaches to French Canada: thus Newfoundland became

The Treaty of Utrecht, 1713

entirely British although France kept certain fishing rights off its shores. Further south France ceded Acadia, later to become the English colonies of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. The Hudson Bay Company's forts captured by France during the war were restored and the Treaty recognized the rights of the Company in the vast lands lying to the west and north of French Canada. In the West Indies France gave up her share of the island of St Kitts. In Europe France agreed to demolish the fortification of Dunkirk, from which port French privateers during the Spanish Succession war had carried on a ruinous war on English commerce in the Channel. France also renounced any special advantages for herself in trade or navigation in Spanish America, and the Spanish king, Philip V, undertook not to cede any part of Spanish America to any other power. In the Mediterranean Spain ceded Gibraltar and Minorca to Great Britain. These two naval bases gave Great Britain control of the western Mediterranean and some check on the activities of the Spanish and French naval bases of Cartagena and Toulon. England's greatest commercial gain from Spain was the Asiento which gave her the monopoly right of importing, within thirty years, a total of 144,000 Negroes into the Spanish American colonies. This concession had previously been held by the French, the Dutch and the Portuguese. English merchants rejoiced at landing this prize since profits from the slave trade were high. Spain also granted permission for one English ship of 500 tons burden to be sent to the annual trade fair held on the Isthmus of Panama at Portobello. Great Britain promised that she would not engage in any unlawful trade with the Spanish colonial empire, in recognition of the considerable concessions Spain had made.

How important was this Treaty in the history of the British empire? Because of a considerable war effort based on her military and naval power, her wealth and diplomacy, Great Britain had been almost able to dictate peace terms to France and Spain. Both these powers made concessions in the Old and New Worlds which materially helped in the building up of British colonial and naval supremacy. Our war-time allies and former rivals, the Dutch, had no option but to follow in our wake and they now definitely fell behind in the struggle for colonial and commercial power. The

War and Empire in the Eighteenth Century

gains at Utrecht put Great Britain in a position for further advances at the expense of France in North America and Spain in the Caribbean. With her powerful navy and merchant marine, her naval and trading bases all over the world, and her flourishing colonies in North America and the West Indies, Great Britain in 1714 was ready for further expansion. The wars of the eighteenth century gave ample opportunity for this. These wars, fought in Europe, had an overseas extension and it was here that Britain, because of her navy and concentration on colonial expansion, succeeded. France and Spain (especially the former) were too much occupied with events in Europe and although they tried at various times to present a united front they did not succeed in stopping the British advance.

THE WAR OF JENKINS'S EAR, 1739

Spain soon began to regret the concessions made to Great Britain at Utrecht and matters were made worse by the way in which the British abused them. They acted as if they had the right of free trade within the Caribbean, and in spite of the promise made at Utrecht that they would refrain from such unlawful trade, they did much smuggling of goods into the Spanish colonies. Other Spanish grievances were that English logwood cutters were trespassing along the Central American coast, notably at Campeche and in the Bay of Honduras, and that the privilege of one ship at the fair of Portobello was being abused by the English: the Spaniards alleged that this ship was emptied by day and then refilled under cover of darkness from other ships lying out to sea. The newly established colony of Georgia adjoining Florida was regarded as an infringement of Spanish rights in North America. To prevent smuggling the Spaniards took somewhat rough and ready measures with their Guardas-costas, who stopped and boarded all British ships they considered to be trespassing in Spanish waters. If they found contraband, and the term covered nearly everything, they confiscated the ship and cargo. The English merchants were furious and demanded strong action from their government, but Walpole was reluctant to declare war on Spain. Captain Jenkins's ear, said to have been cut off by a brutal Spanish

The War of Jenkins's Ear, 1739

Guarda-costa, roused Parliament and the nation to a fury of indignation and war was declared on Spain at the end of 1739. The government's plan was to strike at the Spanish American empire by sending Admiral Vernon to Portobello which he captured, but his attack on Cartagena on the Spanish Main in 1741 failed, chiefly because of lack of co-operation from the commander of the troops. Commodore Anson was sent on his celebrated world voyage to the Pacific in order to attack Spanish trade between the Philippines and Mexico (1740-44).

THE WAR OF THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION, 1740-8

Although Great Britain had been helping Maria Teresa of Austria against France and Prussia since 1741, officially war with France did not start until early in 1744. Besides campaigning in Europe Great Britain fought France in India (see chapter 9), North America and the West Indies. In North America the French took Annapolis the capital of Nova Scotia. Under the energetic direction of Governor Shirley of Massachusetts a force of American colonials, supported by British warships, captured the strongly fortified French base of Louisburg on Cape Breton Island. In the West Indies, British naval power harried French commerce to and from the French sugar islands; France and Spain retaliated against British trade in this area with some success. Peace was made at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 when there was a general restoration of conquests. Louisburg was given up by the British chiefly to get the French out of the Austrian Netherlands which they had captured. In India, Madras was restored by the French. In the West Indies, the four Carib islands, St Lucia, Dominica, St Vincent and Tobago, were declared neutral and any settlers, French or British, were to leave, a condition broken by the French who had many settlers in these islands. A treaty with Spain which ended the Asiento was signed in 1750, the South Sea Company receiving £100,000 in compensation. Nothing, however, was said about the British claims for free trade in the Caribbean nor was there any settlement of the problem of the logwood settlements on the coasts of Central America.

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ANGLO-FRENCH RIVALRY AND UNOFFICIAL WAR IN NORTH AMERICA

In both North America and India, war continued after this peace of 1748 because the local situations there could not be controlled by orders from home. In North America there were the makings of a frontier war between the English and the French. This was because the 'tide water' colonies of the original settlements had expanded far inland from the Atlantic, and the English settlers were now pressing westwards over the crests of the Allegheny mountains into the valleys of the river Ohio and its tributaries. Nowhere were the frontiers accurately marked out or known. The French claimed most of this land but this did not stop the English frontier settlers making new homes in the forest and wilderness beyond the mountains.

The French were not in a very strong position to hold the vast territory they claimed; they were short of manpower. Probably by 1750 there were not more than 80,000 inhabitants of French Canada compared with the million and a half of the English colonies; New England alone had several times the number of people in French Canada. To make the most of their limited manpower the French set up fortified posts at strategic points, and by 1750 they had a water link from the Gulf of Mexico up the Mississippi to the Ohio valley and overland to the Great Lakes which was covered by forts. To stop English penetration into the Ohio valley and towards the south of the Great Lakes, the French built Forts Presqu'isle and Le Boeuf on Lake Erie and the key Fort Duquesne at the junction of the two tributary rivers which formed the main stream of the Ohio. Both sides fortified the important route along the Richelieu river and lake Champlain, southwards to the headwaters of the Hudson river. The French had Fort Frederic (Crown Point) and Ticonderoga; to the south were the English Fort William Henry and Fort Edward. The frontiers of Nova Scotia and French Canada were disputed and both sides had forts covering the debatable ground. The French had the advantage of better relations with the frontier Indians than the English and this gave them a valuable addition of manpower in time of war.

Anglo-French Rivalry: Unofficial War in North America

Immediately after the peace of 1748, the French asserted their claims to the Ohio valley lands. These claims were resisted by the English and in 1754 the Governor of Virginia sent George Washington, then a colonel of the Virginian militia, to stop this French advance, but he was forced to surrender at Great Meadows. The British government sent two battalions to America in 1755 under the command of General Braddock but this reinforcement was lost in June 1755, when Braddock's force was ambushed a few miles from Fort Duquesne by the French and their Indian allies. This spectacular defeat and another in the Lake Champlain area temporarily dashed British hopes of taking the disputed land in the Ohio valley. Only in Acadia had there been any success, when in 1755 militia from Massachusetts had captured the French Fort of Beau Séjour. In the same year the British government had transported the whole of the French population from Acadia because they were giving help to their French-Canadian kinsmen and obstructing British settlement in Nova Scotia where in 1749 the port of Halifax was founded.

THE SEVEN YEARS WAR AND THE WAR LEADERSHIP OF WILLIAM PITT

In 1756 the war began officially in Europe, although it had long been going on in North America and in India. The first year of this war proved disastrous for Great Britain. In the Mediterranean the important naval base of Minorca was lost. In North America the French took the offensive under their new Governor and commander, the Marquis of Montcalm, who captured the English fort on Lake Ontario, Fort Oswego; in 1757 he advanced south from Lake Champlain towards the Hudson valley, and captured Fort William Henry. In the same year the British plan to capture the French base of Louisburg failed because the commander Loudoun decided that the operation was too big for his force and so retired without achieving anything.

The disasters of 1756 called to power the great William Pitt. In November 1756 he became Secretary of State in the Pitt-Devonshire Ministry. He was not acceptable to George II who had

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never forgiven him for his earlier criticism of the expenditure of money to defend the Electorate of Hanover. In April 1757 George II dismissed Pitt but it was soon clear that he was indispensable. Nobody else could direct this war successfully and in June Pitt returned to power. This time he was firmly in the saddle and he set to work to fashion victory out of defeat.

The situation was indeed desperate, but Pitt solved the problem because he looked at the map of the world as a whole. In Europe our ally, Frederick the Great, king of Prussia, who was facing attack from French, Austrian and Russian armies, was very hard pressed. His flank to the west had been left open by the failure of the Duke of Cumberland to defend Hanover against the French. Pitt saw this position must be instantly restored which he did by giving large subsidies in money to Frederick for the payment of his troops, and by creating a new Anglo-Hanoverian army which should operate in North Germany under the command of Ferdinand of Brunswick to defend the flank of Frederick and if possible to recover the Electorate of Hanover. At all costs the great French-Austrian-Russian drive in Europe must be halted. Pitt also sent raiding forces to the French coast and although these were much criticized as a waste of men and money these landings on the Normandy and Breton coasts did achieve something in pinning down French forces. The results of this policy were seen towards the end of 1757 when in November, Frederick defeated the French at Rossbach, followed a month later by his defeat of the Austrians at Leuthen. These successes relieved the pressure on Frederick and also enabled the army of Ferdinand of Brunswick to recapture Hanover in 1758.

The connection between the European and colonial spheres was very clear to Pitt. He saw that Great Britain could not capture the French empire overseas unless the European situation was first favourable; he therefore took every precaution to get the situation in Europe right before he set about the overseas enterprise. To Pitt France was a deadly maritime and commercial rival because of her colonies in Canada and the West Indies. The Canadian lands of France were valuable because of their fishing and fur trade and the French in Canada were a constant threat to the safety of our New England colonies. In the West Indies the French islands were

Seven Years War and the Leadership of William Pitt

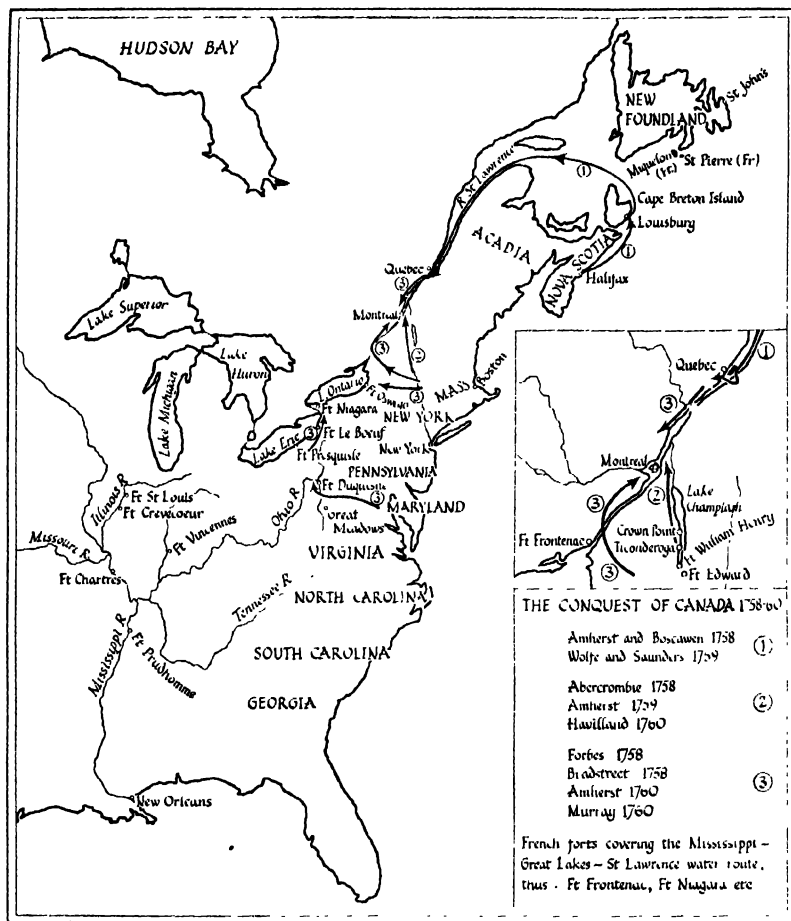
producing more sugar at a lower cost and so threatened the prosperity of the English islands. If Great Britain could capture all the French colonies in North America and the West Indies, she would have a monopoly of the fishing and fur trades which were important not only for their profits but also because of the shipping and seamen they employed. Our position as a sugar producer in the West Indies would be assured and we should also eliminate the French from the trade with the West Indies islands.

Besides the help to Frederick and the raids on the French coast, an important part of Pitt's war policy was the blockade of the French naval bases of Brest and Toulon. This was carried out so effectively by the Royal Navy that the French found it difficult to send reinforcements to their colonies. Having achieved this, the British expeditions directed at the French empire in America, Africa and India, could set about their work.

THE CONQUEST OF CANADA

By the end of 1757 a far-reaching plan for the conquest of French Canada had taken shape. The intention of Pitt was to attack the key points in French Canada. These were the great fortress of Louisburg on Cape Breton Island, which guarded the approaches to the St Lawrence, and Quebec, Montreal, and Fort Duquesne, which covered the approach to the Great Lakes from the Ohio valley. These operations were to be carried out by the British army and navy supported by a strong force of colonial troops. Pitt wisely encouraged the colonial forces and gave their officers equality of rank with officers of the British regular forces. Hitherto all officers of the American colonial forces, whatever their rank, had been junior to the most junior British officer. Two major attempts of the French to reinforce Louisburg from Toulon and Brest were defeated by the British fleets under Osborne and Hawke. In July 1758 the first successes of Pitt's plan were seen: Louisburg was captured by a combined attack under General Amherst and Admiral Boscawen. Elsewhere there was success and some failure. In July 1758 Abercrombie failed in his attack on the fort of Ticonderoga which guarded the southern end of Lake Champlain, but

War and Empire in the Eighteenth Century



MAP 4. THE CONQUEST OF CANADA, 1758-60

the colonial commander Bradstreet, advancing up the Mohawk river, took Fort Frontenac on Lake Ontario. By the end of 1758 Forbes had crossed the Allegheny mountains only to find that the French had abandoned Fort Duquesne so that by the end of 1758 the French were driven back to the heart of French Canada, Quebec and Montreal.

The year 1759 was the decisive one of this war. For the final conquest of French Canada there were two main expeditions: one under General Wolfe and Admiral Saunders which was to sail up

The Conquest of Canada

the St Lawrence river to attack Quebec, and secondly, a force under the Commander-in-Chief, Amherst, which was to strike at Montreal and the French position west of Quebec, approaching it along the line of Lake Champlain. The first expedition passed up the difficult channel of the St Lawrence river and arrived before Quebec in June. Quebec was strongly held and at first Wolfe made attacks from the eastern side, without result. Finally, and because the winter season was approaching, which would make the St Lawrence icebound, the decision was made to attack from the west. This was the celebrated operation which led on 13 September to the battle of the heights of Abraham, to the west of Quebec; Wolfe and his opponent Montcalm were both killed. Five days later Quebec surrendered but this was not the end of the campaign as the French were still strong in the neighbourhood of Montreal and from here in 1760 they made a determined attempt to recapture Quebec; the British garrison, commanded by Murray, one of Wolfe's brigadiers, repulsed the attack. Elsewhere in 1759 Amherst cleared the way towards Montreal after the French had abandoned Crown Point and Ticonderoga at the southern end of Lake Champlain. Fort Niagara, an important fort between lakes Ontario and Erie, was also captured in 1759.

In the West Indies, Pitt's plans bore fruit with the capture of the French island of Guadeloupe in May 1759. In Europe, Ferdinand of Brunswick defeated the French at Minden. The relentless work of the British navy in blockading the French fleets in their harbours of Brest and Toulon successfully continued. The French in desperation planned an invasion of Great Britain as a means of taking pressure off their colonies overseas. This scheme was finally defeated by the victory of Admiral Hawke in November 1759, when he shattered the Brest fleet at Quiberon Bay. In 1760 the French were finally defeated in Canada, when a triple attack on Montreal was made by Amherst from the river Mohawk and Lake Ontario, Havilland from the Richelieu river and Murray from Quebec. In September the French Governor-General made a formal surrender of all French Canada to Great Britain.

War and Empire in the Eighteenth Century

THE RESIGNATION OF PITT, 1761

By the beginning of 1761 much of the French empire was in British hands but Pitt had schemes for further conquests. He intended to take the French West Indian islands, as a bargaining counter when it came to making peace. Negotiations for peace were actually opened in 1761 but the French offer was unacceptable. Pitt also had in mind a declaration of war on Spain because he knew this country had made a close alliance with France. It was an obvious move for the two Bourbon kingdoms to draw together to protect their interests in the New World. At this stage, Pitt found he could not carry the Cabinet with him. He wanted a declaration of war towards the end of 1761 against Spain, before her treasure fleet from America arrived safely in Spain. Failing to get agreement for this he resigned office with these words:

I was called by my sovereign and by the voice of the people to assist the state when others had abdicated the service of it. That being so, no one can be surprised that I will go on no longer, since my advice is not taken. Being responsible, I will direct and will be responsible for nothing that I do not direct.

THE PEACE OF PARIS, 1763

Subsequent events confirmed Pitt's view that Spain was preparing for war in alliance with France and the government was obliged to declare war on her in January 1762. The leadership and weapons that Pitt had forged were soon turned against this new enemy. In 1762 after capturing the French island of Martinique, a naval and military expedition took Havana, the capital of Spanish Cuba. Manila, the capital of the Philippines, was also taken; Spain had gained nothing by her tardy intervention in this war. Other French West Indian islands to be captured were Grenada and St Lucia. After prolonged negotiations peace was made between Great Britain, France and Spain at Paris, February 1763. The terms were certainly in favour of Great Britain, but Pitt would have taken more. He opposed the handing back of Cuba to Spain, he wished to keep the French sugar islands in the West Indies and particularly

The Peace of Paris, 1763

opposed the retention by France of fishing rights off Newfoundland and the St Lawrence estuary. The terms of the Treaty were:

(1) In North America, France ceded Canada, Cape Breton island and all the other territory up to the Mississippi river. She retained her fishing rights off Newfoundland and the two small islands of St Pierre and Miquelon as bases for her fishermen.

(2) In the West Indies, France recognized Great Britain's rights in the islands of Grenada, Dominica, St Vincent and Tobago. France recovered her islands of Martinique, St Lucia, Guadeloupe and Marie Galante.

(3) In Africa, Great Britain retained Senegal but returned the French trading base of Goree.

(4) In India conquests were restored, but the French settlements were not to be fortified.

(5) In Europe, Great Britain recovered her naval base of Minorca. The island of Belleisle off the Breton coast which Great Britain had captured in 1761 was restored to France.

(6) Spain ceded Florida to Great Britain and recognized the rights of the logwood cutters in Honduras. In return she recovered Havana and later Manila, for which a ransom was promised, but not paid.

By 1763 Great Britain had become the greatest colonial and maritime power in the world. Of her rivals, France had fallen behind the race. Spain, it is true, retained most of her empire intact but it was in a stagnant and unsatisfactory condition. The foundations of this first British empire had been laid in the seventeenth century by the extensive emigration overseas and trading activities of the English people. It had been extended in the eighteenth century by a national policy which aimed at colonial conquest, commercial expansion and maritime supremacy through war. Yet within ten years the structure of this empire was weakened by increasing conflict and disagreement between Great Britain and her American colonies which, lacking a peaceful solution, led by war to the loss of the thirteen colonies in 1783.

THE BEGINNINGS OF BRITISH INDIA

THE GROWING PROSPERITY OF THE COMPANY AFTER 1709

The union of the Old and New East India Companies in 1709 led to steadily increasing prosperity in the first half of the eighteenth century. The framework of their organization was the three Presidencies of Bombay, Fort St George (Madras) and Fort William (Calcutta), with various dependencies and out-stations (see map 5). By 1740 Indian exports to Britain of saltpetre, indigo, sugar, spices, raw silk, calicoes, cotton yarn and piece goods, were worth over £1 million annually. The Company also carried on an extensive trade in India itself and further east. It extended its activities in the eighteenth century by the import of tea and coffee, profitable because of the growing taste for these beverages in Europe; tea was shipped from Canton in China and coffee from Mokha on the Red Sea. Their trading position was strengthened by a favourable treaty negotiated with the Mughul emperor Farrukhsiyar in 1717 by John Surman, President of Madras. Subject to payment of small annual rents this gave the Company freedom of trade in Bengal and the Hyderabad lands, while the rupees minted by the Company at Bombay became recognized currency in the Mughul empire.

THE DECLINE OF THE MUGHUL EMPIRE

Aurangzeb, the last of the great Mughul emperors, died in 1707. Under his feeble successors the authority of the imperial government steadily declined; its viceroys set themselves up as independent rulers in Bengal, Oudh and Hyderabad; ruinous invasions

The Decline of the Mughul Empire

by Persians and Afghans took place. In 1739 Nadir Shah of Persia invaded India from the north-west, defeated the emperor and looted his capital at Delhi. The Marathas, a league of warlike Hindu princes of western and central India, defied the emperor, warring and raiding over a large part of India and extorting *chauth* (a fourth of the land revenue) from the miserable and impoverished inhabitants—'Wherever their kettle drums were heard, the peasant threw his bag of rice on his shoulder, hid his small savings in his girdle, and fled with his wife and children to the mountains or the jungles, to the milder neighbourhood of the hyaena and the tiger' (Macaulay). The Marathas who made a bid to seize the empire were routed at Panipat in 1761, but the Mughul empire had drifted too far into decay to be revived by this victory. It was against this background of confusion and swirling conflict between the Indian princes, great and small, that the rivalry of French and British in India was set. Though at the time perhaps only a few discerning men like Dupleix saw it, the situation offered a favourable opportunity for political and military intervention in Indian affairs by European powers.

ANGLO-FRENCH CONFLICT IN INDIA, 1744-8

India was an area in which French and English trading interests clashed. The main French base was Pondicherri on the Coromandel coast, with lesser stations at Chandernagore (Bengal) and Mahé (Malabar coast). France also held the two island bases of Mauritius and Réunion in the southern Indian Ocean. Commercially the French company was much less successful than the English but their presence was a thorn in the side of the English. The arrival of Dupleix at Pondicherri in 1742 as the new Governor soon made it more so. Although France and Britain were at war in Europe (War of the Austrian Succession, 1740-8) Dupleix in 1744 proposed that English and French should remain at peace in India. But the arrival of a squadron of the Royal Navy bent on attacking the French prevented acceptance of this plan. With the help of La Bourdonnais, Governor of Mauritius, who sailed in with a strong squadron, the French temporarily wrested naval supremacy from

The Beginnings of British India

the English on the Coromandel coast, which enabled them to capture Madras (September 1746) and to attempt the capture of Fort St David to the south. Although Admiral Boscawen was sent out with a small fleet and a thousand royal troops which unsuccessfully besieged Pondicherri, Madras was not recaptured, but only restored to the Company when peace was signed at Aix-la-Chapelle (October 1748).

THE AIMS OF DUPLEIX

The performance of the English during the war had not been impressive, while the reputation of the French was high and for the time being the initiative in southern India was theirs. Dupleix now made his bid to establish French mastery. Besides an intelligent and imaginative mind he had a greater understanding than other Europeans of the Indian outlook, attitudes, and political system. In the situation as he saw it, it would be possible by skilful diplomacy and the use of the superior European military organization to interfere in the wars between the Indian princes. Victory would be to that prince to whom French help was granted, but the price of this would be an obedient allegiance and co-operation with the aims of French policy. Basically his plan was to establish control over two key states, the Deccan and the Carnatic; the former with its central situation dominated southern India and could be a base for an advance northwards, while the latter was the area in which the English had their factories and from which they were to be expelled. From 1748 onwards disputed successions to both these territories gave Dupleix his chance which he seized with skill. By 1750 his nominee was installed in the Deccan whither Dupleix's best general, De Bussy, was sent, the grateful Nizam in return making handsome payments and recognizing French supremacy in southern India. In the Carnatic, Chanda Sahib with French help attacked Muhammad Ali, son of the former Nawab, granting the French as payment an extension of their territory round Pondicherri. Under the circumstances the English had no option but to imitate French policy and help was sent to Muhammad Ali who was besieged at Trichinopoly. In the un-

The Aims of Dupleix

official war which followed the English after a poor start gradually wore down the French. That they did so was due to the resourceful direction of Saunders, Governor of Madras, the skill of General Stringer Lawrence and the genius of Robert Clive.

ROBERT CLIVE AT ARCOT, 1751

Robert Clive, the son of a Shropshire gentleman, had been sent out to India in the Company's service as a writer or gentleman clerk whose job was to keep the accounts. It was hoped that he would make a fortune and so retrieve the position of his family, which was somewhat impoverished. On arrival at Madras, Clive turned willingly from the drudgery of his employment to the chance of military action during the war of the Austrian succession. He fought gallantly in the defence of Madras, and took part in the siege of Pondicherry under General Stringer Lawrence.

His great chance came in 1751, when the English ally, Muhammad Ali, was heavily besieged at Trichinopoly. The situation was desperate. If Trichinopoly fell, the cause of the British in the Carnatic was doomed. Governor Saunders was impressed by the plan of the young Clive which was to create a diversion by attacking the capital of the Carnatic, Arcot. Saunders backed Clive with all the few troops available, there being 200 British troops and 300 Indian sepoys in the force that set off for Arcot in August 1751. The garrison of Arcot, although three times as numerous, abandoned the fort to the British. Clive and his little garrison now had to stand a long and gruelling siege by an enemy reinforced by thousands of troops; the tiny British and Indian garrison could hardly man the walls of the fort.

By the middle of September the besieged were in great straits. They lacked food and water and the crumbling mud walls made their defence difficult. Clive, who was the heart and soul of the garrison, showed a superb skill in directing their heroic efforts. By the time the siege had lasted a month, his little garrison was declining in strength and numbers. He desperately sought help from Madras and from a neighbouring Maratha prince. On 14 November the enemy made a last attempt to capture the fort

The Beginnings of British India

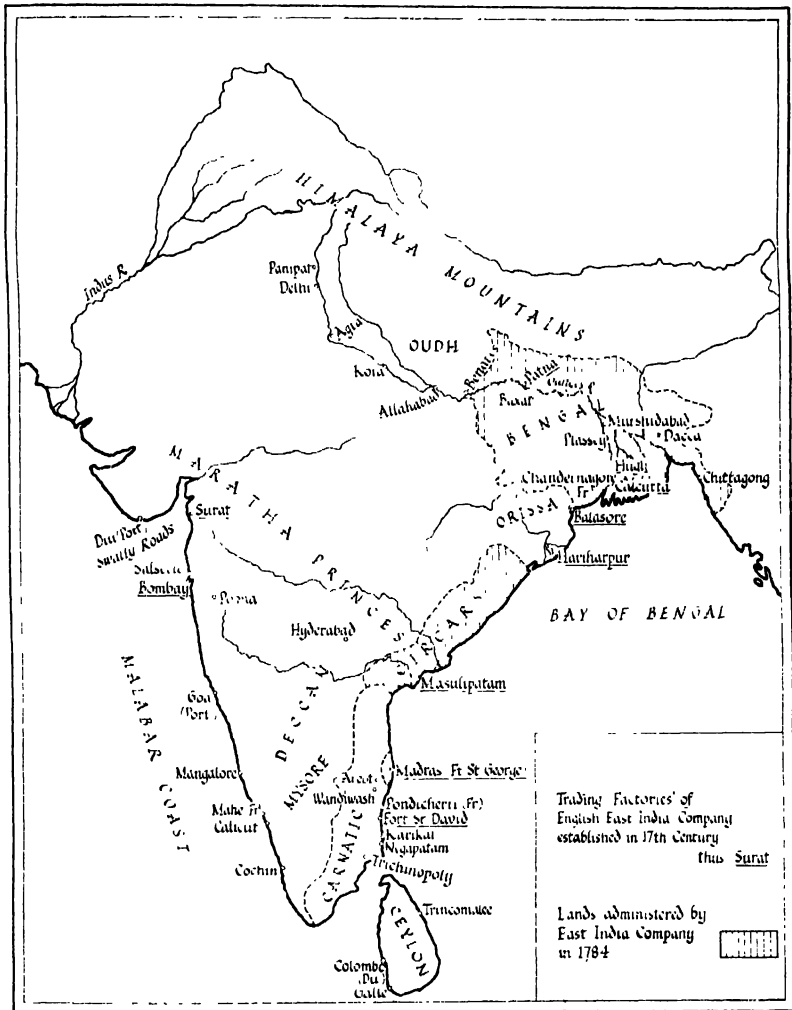
from the 80 British and 120 sepoys who remained fit for duty. The attack failed, leaving Clive master of Arcot, with help coming rapidly from outside.

The capture and defence of Arcot turned the tide in southern India; it relieved the pressure on Muhammad Ali and, more important, it raised the prestige of the British. Its effect was increased by the success in 1752 of General Stringer Lawrence who relieved Trichinopoly and defeated Chanda Sahib, Dupleix's candidate for the throne of the Carnatic. The Indian princes in the south now turned towards the English whose successes had profoundly impressed them. Henceforth Dupleix was fighting a losing battle until 1754 when the directors of the French India Company, alarmed by the expense of these operations, decided to recall him and to make peace with the British. This left the British influence supreme in the Carnatic but not in the Deccan where Dupleix's able lieutenant, De Bussy, had established French control, with the Nizam paying for the French forces in his territory. When in 1755 Clive returned from his leave in England with a king's commission as Lieutenant-Colonel, the intention was for him to lead an expedition to destroy the French power that De Bussy had built up in the Deccan. But events in Bengal prevented this from happening.

CLIVE IN BENGAL, 1756-60

In Bengal, Calcutta had become, thanks to the protection of the Company, a prosperous town of 400,000 inhabitants. It was a place of safety where trade could flourish and merchants' property was secure. In 1756 the new Nawab of Bengal was Siraj-Ud-Daula, a young and inexperienced man who regarded the Europeans in Bengal and particularly the English with considerable suspicion. He picked a quarrel with the English, captured their factory at Kasimbazar and then appeared with a large army before Fort William in Calcutta. The fort had only a small garrison of 200 with little will to defend it; the Governor evacuated himself and the women and children to ships in the river, leaving the garrison to their fate. After a token resistance of one day, they surrendered; then followed the incident known as the 'Black Hole of Calcutta',

Clive in Bengal, 1756-60



MAP 5. THE BEGINNINGS OF BRITISH INDIA, 1740-84

leading to the death of over 120 Europeans who had been confined in the prison cell of the fort, a room about eighteen feet long by fourteen wide with only one small window. The majority of the victims were suffocated in the torrid heat during the night. The fault for this cannot directly be assigned to Siraj-Ud-Daula; it seems that it was more an act of negligence than any deliberate intention to murder his English prisoners in this way.

The Beginnings of British India

When the news of this reached Madras, prompt action was taken to recover Calcutta. A squadron of five warships and five transports under Admiral Watson took Clive's force of some 2500 men to the Hugli river, which they reached at the end of 1756. Calcutta was soon recovered: the Nawab made little effort to stop this happening, and signed a treaty with Clive which restored the Company's privileges in Calcutta and also added some more to them. Furthermore, Siraj-Ud-Daula became the nominal ally of the Company. At this stage the genius of Clive as a man of action was again shown. His penetrating insight told him that the Company's position in Bengal was still very insecure. The Nawab was obviously a shifty and unreliable ally; more dangerous were the French at their base of Chandernagore. Clive determined to deal with both of these powers, starting with the French. He forced permission from the Nawab to attack the French and soon captured Chandernagore. Clive now turned on Siraj-Ud-Daula; he realized that this ruler was unpopular in Bengal and especially among the Hindu merchants and bankers who were numerous in Calcutta. It was clear they wished for the influence and protection of the Company to be extended in Bengal. It was not difficult for Clive to find a suitable candidate to supplant Siraj-Ud-Daula, and thus bring control over Bengal to a great extent into the Company's hands. Mir Jafar, a discontented general of the Nawab, was ready to promise generous terms. He pledged himself by treaty to confirm all the Company's privileges in Bengal and to pay the sum of over £1 million as compensation for the losses the Company and the European inhabitants had suffered at the hands of Siraj-Ud-Daula. Further, he undertook to receive a resident to represent the Company at his court and to assign lands to the Company for payment of the troops which would uphold his rule.

The intrigues of Siraj-Ud-Daula with the French gave a convenient excuse for attacking him. In June 1757 Clive left Calcutta with a force of 3000 men, 800 of which were British. At Plassey, his small force, after some fighting, routed the great host of 50,000 opposed to them. He had some anxious moments at the start, but the Nawab's forces panicked under a cannonade and a sharp attack from part of Clive's forces, while Mir Jafar remained inactive on

Clive in Bengal, 1756-60

the left wing of the Nawab's army. Soon after this victory Clive installed Mir Jafar as ruler at Murshidabad. Siraj-Ud-Daula was captured and put to death.

A new situation had arisen in Bengal. Besides assuring the Company's trading position and virtually eliminating French influence, the victories of Clive had turned the Company into the paramount influence in Bengal. Mir Jafar was no more than a puppet ruler dependent on the British, to whom he paid considerable sums for their support, both to the Company and as presents to private individuals. But he was a troublesome puppet who had to be supported against his outside enemies, besides which there was the problem of his bad relations with his subordinate Hindu officers. Clive, who had been appointed Governor of Calcutta, completely dominated the situation. He defended the outlying province of Bihar against a Mughul attack from the west. In gratitude, Mir Jafar made a grant to Clive of a *Jagir* of £30,000 a year, to be paid from the revenue of the district known as the twenty-four Purgannahs, which had been ceded to the Company after Plassey. Clive also dealt with the attempt of the Dutch to dispute the position of the English in Bengal. They sent a small expedition from Batavia for this purpose, but it was defeated and the Dutch went the same way as the French in Bengal, losing all political influence and retaining only their commercial rights. In 1760 Clive returned to England, rich and famous. Already he had been acclaimed by William Pitt as 'that man not born for a desk, that Heaven-born general'.

WAR IN THE CARNATIC, 1758-61

While Clive was in Bengal, fighting had been resumed between the English and French in the Carnatic. In 1758 the French sent out a force of men and ships under the command of Lally. At first he had some success; he attacked and captured Fort St David and then laid siege to Madras, but the appearance of a British squadron off the coast made him raise the siege. The success or failure of these operations depended on who had command of the sea. First France and then Britain established naval supremacy on the

The Beginnings of British India

Coromandel coast; finally, in 1760, the French naval commander left Lally unsupported and retired to Mauritius. This made possible decisive operations by the British, whose commander, Eyre Coote, defeated Lally at Wandiwash. This victory led to the siege of Pondicherry which, blockaded by sea and attacked from the land, surrendered to the English in January 1761. These operations had been considerably helped by the brilliant stroke of Clive, who in 1758 had sent Colonel Forde from Bengal to attack the French in the coastal strip known as the Northern Circars. The French were defeated and the Nizam ceded these provinces to the English. These operations marked the end of French political power in India. At the Peace of Paris, 1763, they received back their trading stations in India, but they were not to be fortified.

BENGAL, 1760-5

When Clive left Bengal in 1760, there followed a period of corruption and confusion. It was due to the fact that the position of the Company in Bengal was not clearly defined. Outwardly it was still a trading company, but in fact it was the supreme power behind the façade of rule of its puppet, Mir Jafar, although as yet the Company had not assumed direct responsibility for government. Secondly, many of the servants of the Company began to abuse their position by exploiting their privileges for trade, not only outside the country, but also inside; they claimed that their trade inside Bengal should be free of all tolls or duties. They had been corrupted by the bad example of their seniors who had accepted large presents from Mir Jafar when Siraj-Ud-Daula had been overthrown. At this stage the Company and its servants thought too much of personal enrichment and too little about the responsibility for good government of the Indians of Bengal. The new Governor of Bengal, Vansittart, decided to replace Mir Jafar by his son-in-law, Mir Kasim, perhaps a mistake, for while Mir Jafar was a good-for-nothing drunkard, his son-in-law was made of sterner stuff. Mir Kasim soon protested against the abuse of trading privileges by the Company's servants, whose actions greatly harmed his revenue, but the Company regarded his protest as an impudent

Bengal, 1760-5

one. Nevertheless, negotiations took place and it was agreed that the goods of the Company traded inland should pay a small duty. This was not acceptable to some of the more arrogant members of the Company in India. A quarrel grew between them and Mir Kasim, who had enlisted troops in order to recover his independence. In 1762 the Company went back on its agreement about the payment of duties for private trade and cancelled the agreement they had made. This led to a war with Mir Kasim in 1763. He was defeated in four battles: in revenge he massacred 140 English captives at Patna, and then fled to Oudh. Mir Jafar was now reinstated by the Company, paying handsomely for this, including the expenses of the war against Mir Kasim, besides presents to members of the council at Calcutta. Mir Kasim, with the help of the ruler of Oudh and the Mughul emperor, Shah Alam, invaded Bengal. He was defeated in October 1764 by Major Munro, who, with a force of 7000 troops, routed the opposing army of 40,000 at Buxar. This was a more decisive battle than Plassey: it proved conclusively that the Company was the greatest power in Bengal.

CLIVE'S REFORMS IN BENGAL, 1765-7

In England the directors of the Company were alarmed by the way things were going in Bengal. Trading profits had greatly decreased due to the expenses of war and intervention in the affairs of Bengal. There was also much jealousy of the large fortunes being amassed by the Company's servants; public opinion was aroused by this unseemly spectacle, partly from jealousy and partly because it was obviously wrong. In 1764 Clive, who had been created Lord Clive of Plassey, was appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief in Bengal. His mission was to reorganize the Company's position and stop the scandals of private trade and receiving presents. Clive arrived in India in May 1765 and very soon took vigorous action. He decided against any further advance of the Company in northern India outside the limits of Bengal, although it would have been possible for him with the Company's military power, to extend control over the whole of the Ganges valley as far as the capital of the emperor at Delhi. Instead he made sure of the

The Beginnings of British India

Company's position in Bengal and Bihar, by a treaty with the emperor by which the latter was given the districts of Kora and Allahabad and a yearly tribute of 26 *lakhs* of rupees. Oudh, the immediate neighbour of Bengal, became a dependant of the Company, which undertook its defence provided the Nawab paid the cost of the troops. The emperor in return granted the Company the *Diwani*, which was the right of collecting the revenue and administering civil justice in Bengal. The other important powers of the government, the *Nizamat*, which was the power of commanding troops and administering criminal justice, remained in the hands of the ruler of Bengal. But as he was submissive to the Company, it meant that this was also virtually under the control of the Company. This was the so-called 'Dual System', or indirect system of government under which the Company collected the revenue and also administered civil and criminal justice.

Clive forbade the Company's servants to accept presents of any kind except very small ones; they had to promise to hand any present over 40,000 rupees to the Company. The question of private trade was more difficult; salaries were so low that the Company's servants could not live without this private trade. Clive finally decided that they should have a share of the salt trade monopoly in return for giving up their private trade. This was a somewhat unsatisfactory solution: the Company should have paid adequate salaries instead, but they refused to do this. There was much opposition to these reforms, as Clive appeared to the Company's servants in Bengal as one who had amply enriched himself in the past and now refused to let them do the same.

With the Company's army, Clive had a more difficult task. His aim was to regulate *batta*, a special allowance over and above pay which was paid under field service conditions, as distinct from troops in garrison. For some time, double *batta* had been drawn; Clive now reduced this to half *batta* for those in garrison, full *batta* for those in field operations in Bengal, and double *batta* for those on operations outside Bengal. This caused much discontent and many officers threatened to resign their commissions. Clive suppressed this indiscipline and court-martialled some of the leading offenders. In fairness it must be admitted that the officers had not

Clive's Reforms in Bengal, 1765-7

the opportunities for private trade that the civilians in the Company's service had.

Clive left India in 1767, having done great work for the Company. The position was now much clearer: the Company was the virtual ruler in Bengal. Its position had been regularized by his treaties with the emperor relating to the revenue and judicial administration of Bengal. The scandal of private trade and corruption had been attacked and temporarily restrained; although it continued in various ways, it never did so on the scale it had attained in the years between 1760 and 1765. On his return to England, his reputation was attacked in Parliament and a parliamentary inquiry was set up to investigate what had been done during his first Governorship of Bengal after his victory at Plassey in 1757. In the end he was vindicated, but these attacks preyed on the mind of Clive and in November 1774 he committed suicide.

WARREN HASTINGS, GOVERNOR OF BENGAL, 1772-4

Warren Hastings, one of the greatest names in the history of British India, was appointed Governor of Bengal in 1772. He had a long experience of India, starting in 1750, when he first came out as a young man of eighteen to become a Writer in the Company's service. He had witnessed the stirring events of 1756 and 1757 in Bengal and in 1761 had become a member of the Council at Calcutta. Hastings knew much more than other Englishmen of the time about India; he had studied its civilization and realized its qualities, whereas his contemporaries tended to overlook or disregard them. He was sympathetic to Indians and wished to help them. At the same time, he knew much about the Company's business and administration. For the next thirteen years he dominated the situation, although he did not have it by any means his own way. He encountered persistent opposition and great difficulties arising from the situation in Bengal and in the rest of the Company's possessions in India. In all his difficulties he showed steadfast patience and an inflexible determination to follow what he knew to be not only the best but also the right policy. Like other Englishmen in India in the Company's service, he had made

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money out of private trading, but his hands were unstained by any of the corruption that had marked the years immediately after Clive's victory at Plassey.

The Company had given Hastings full powers to make such reforms in Bengal as he thought necessary. There was much to be done: the state of the country was lamentable. In 1769-70 it had suffered a disastrous famine which had killed millions of people and impoverished the whole land. His first major reform was to abolish the 'Dual System' of Clive whereby the revenue in Bengal and Bihar had been collected by Indian deputies for the Company. English collectors were appointed to collect the revenue and they were responsible to a Board of Revenue in Calcutta. With this collection of revenue went also the administration of civil justice by the collectors in magistrates courts, as many disputes about the liability for payment of revenue were bound to arise.

The private trading activities of the Company's servants were further limited. Hastings abolished the monopolies held by them in rice, tobacco and salt, and also the system of free passes, whereby the private trading goods of the Company's servants paid no duties inside the country; internal trade was encouraged by the fixing of a low customs duty of 2½ per cent payable by the Indians and Europeans alike. The flow of trade was further encouraged by the abolition of customs houses except at the five main centres of trade—Calcutta, Hugli, Murshidabad, Patna and Dacca.

THE REGULATING ACT (1773)

The position of Hastings was dramatically changed by Lord North's Regulating Act of 1773. Private fortunes had been made in India, but the Company was in financial difficulties and had been forced to ask for a loan from the British government. There was a steadily growing opinion in England that the Company's affairs must be brought under parliamentary control and this led to the Regulating Act of 1773. The Act ended the unseemly squabbles in London whereby the control of the Company had been fought for by rival groups of shareholders. Henceforth the directors of the Company were appointed for a period of four years; under the old

The Regulating Act (1773)

system they could be voted out of office every year. A Governor-General of Fort William (Calcutta) was appointed with a Council of four to help him. The new Governor-General had a general power of supervision over the other two Presidencies, Bombay and Madras. A Supreme Court of Justice was set up in Calcutta with a Chief Justice and three judges. Hastings was named as first Governor-General in this Act. Unfortunately, he was given no overriding powers should there be a majority against him in the Council, although in the case of a tie he had a casting vote.

HASTINGS AND HIS COUNCIL, 1774-80

One of the members of Council, Richard Barwell, was already resident in Bengal. The other three who were sent out from England caused Hastings great trouble. Of these three, the most important and dangerous was Philip Francis, a man of unbounding ambition and arrogance, coupled with a sharp and intelligent mind. The other two, General Clavering and Colonel Monson, were completely under Francis's influence. Francis, who probably had ambitions to displace Hastings as Governor-General, declared 'we three are king', and with his majority of three opposed the policy of Hastings until 1776, when Monson died and Hastings with his casting vote and Barwell's support was able to recover control. The position further improved in 1780, when Francis, after fighting a duel with Hastings, returned to England.

Francis and his supporters did everything they could to discredit Hastings' policy and reputation. He had perhaps unwisely lent the Company's troops to the Nawab of Oudh, to put down the Rohillas, hoping to strengthen Oudh as a buffer state on the western frontier of Bengal. Francis alleged that the troops had committed cruelties and plundering in this war against the Rohillas, and that Hastings was to blame for this. Atrocities were undoubtedly committed, but not by the Company's troops, and Hastings was in no way responsible for what the Nawab's own troops had done. Failing to discredit Hastings in this, Francis turned in another direction. He encouraged the accusations of a dissatisfied and intriguing Brahman, Nandakumar, who alleged

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that Hastings had accepted bribes for making the widow of Mir Jafar guardian of a young Nawab of Bengal. The enemies of Hastings in the Council accepted these charges as proved, although no investigation had been made. Meanwhile, a private person brought an accusation of forgery against Nandakumar. It was on this charge that the Supreme Court of Calcutta tried him and, according to English law, sentenced him to death. He was executed for this crime, thus conveniently disposing of a man, said Hastings's enemies, who could have proved the charge of bribery against Hastings.

WAR WITH THE MARATHAS, 1776-82

Besides his concern with the internal affairs of Bengal, Hastings had to watch events in India which might affect the Company's position. There was difficulty here as the Directors wanted no costly wars which would reduce profits. Nevertheless, there were warlike powers such as the Marathas against whom the Company's position must be defended and Hastings showed no hesitation when events demanded action. It was the ill-advised action of the Bombay Presidency that involved Hastings in war with the Marathas. In 1775 the Bombay council had made a treaty of alliance with one of the claimants to the Peshwa, or leadership of the Marathas, in return for the cession of the islands of Salsette and Bassein and payment of the military expenses involved. Hastings, as Governor-General, had power of general supervision over the affairs of Bombay and Madras and gave his support to the Bombay policy. After some fighting, peace was made in 1776; the island of Salsette was ceded to the Company, but the Maratha claimant was pensioned off. In 1778 the Directors reversed their policy of non-interference and authorized Hastings to renew support of this Maratha claimant. This led to war with the Marathas at the wrong time, because in 1778 the war of American Independence had led to general war between France and Great Britain, and once again France started to play a hand in Indian affairs.

The Marathas defeated the Bombay army and Hastings was obliged to send an army from Bengal across central India to the aid of Bombay. This force had some successes, but it could only

War with the Marathas, 1776-82

partly retrieve the situation. The Treaty of Salbai (1782) ended this war caused by the unnecessary interference of the Bombay Presidency in Maratha affairs.

HASTINGS AND MYSORE

In the south, Madras provided a further problem for the diplomacy and resources of Hastings. Here the local native rulers had been antagonized and in particular Haidar Ali the ruler of Mysore. In July 1780 he invaded the Carnatic. The Madras government was ill-organized and could not stop this invasion. Hastings acted promptly; he suspended the Governor of Madras and sent Sir Eyre Coote with supplies and reinforcements, and a military force overland from Bengal to Madras. By skilful diplomacy, he won over some of the Indian rulers who had joined Haidar Ali against the Company. The veteran commander, Coote, won victories over Haidar Ali, at Porto Novo (July 1781) and later at Pollilore and Solingar. A French fleet, under Admiral de Suffren, now arrived off the Coromandel coast and fought five battles with the English Admiral Hughes, but in spite of foreign intervention the Company held its own. Peace was made by the Treaty of Mangalore in 1784 on the basis of a mutual restoration of conquests.

THE IMPEACHMENT OF WARREN HASTINGS

In 1785 Hastings left India where he had done great work. In spite of many difficulties he left British power in India strongly founded, but at the same time he had made many enemies and had also committed some high-handed acts. The British Parliament had become increasingly concerned with the affairs of India and there were frequent debates upon the condition of affairs in British India. The bitter enemy of Hastings, Philip Francis, had been active in stirring up an agitation against Hastings and this was supported by the leading Whigs, notably Edmund Burke, Sheridan and Charles James Fox. The Prime Minister, William Pitt the Younger, had previously supported Hastings, notably in the case of the war against the Rohillas, but because of the conduct of Hastings towards

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Chait Singh of Benares he supported the impeachment started in 1787. As in all impeachment proceedings, the case was tried by the House of Lords with the prosecution conducted by members of the House of Commons. The main charges against Hastings were that he had behaved in a tyrannical and oppressive way and there were two examples in which Hastings undoubtedly had been high-handed and oppressive. These were the cases of Chait Singh of Benares, and secondly, the treatment given to the Begams of Oudh. Chait Singh was a revenue collector for the Company in the Benares district. When war with France started in 1778, and also during war with the Marathas, Hastings was short of money to pay the troops. He therefore demanded an extra amount from Chait Singh, who was very slow to produce it, and in order to speed up payment Hastings took drastic action. He arrested Chait Singh at Benares, but was temporarily forced to withdraw owing to a rising in protest by Chait Singh's own troops. He then returned with a strong force, drove Chait Singh out of his country and installed his nephew in his place, at the same time doubling the revenue that must be paid to the Company.

Money was also involved in the case of the Begams of Oudh. The Nawab of Oudh was a dependant and ally of the Company, but his payments of tribute and subsidy to the Company were much in arrears. His mother and grandmother, the Begams of Oudh, had large sums of money, and he hoped to get this to relieve his financial difficulties. From 1775 onwards the Company's resident at Oudh continued to press the Begams to make payment to the Nawab. Some money was given but more was demanded. The Begams refused to pay any more but the Company's troops were sent to support the Nawab and to exercise a relentless pressure to make the Begams pay up. The stewards of the Begams who controlled their jewels and treasure were imprisoned and subject to harsh treatment. By such unsavoury means £1 million was extracted to pay the Nawab's debts and so relieve the financial straits of the Company.

The trial of Hastings lasted six years but only a few weeks in each year were taken up by proceedings. Finally he was acquitted on all charges, but the expenses of the trial had ruined him financially.

The Impeachment of Warren Hastings

In view of his great service Hastings had not deserved such treatment, apart from the fact that he had been high-handed on these two occasions. But the trial had a wider significance. It was not only a warning to the Company's servants in India that oppressive conduct would not be tolerated, but it also emphasized the principle that there was an overriding responsibility at all times for the good government and welfare of those they ruled.

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THE LOSS OF THE THIRTEEN AMERICAN COLONIES

THE BACKGROUND OF THE PROBLEM

The Seven Years War and the gains of the Peace of Paris in 1763 had made Great Britain the greatest colonial power in the world. Yet within twenty years her empire had been torn asunder by the revolt and loss of the thirteen colonies on the eastern seaboard of North America. There is no one single explanation of the causes of this revolt: the traditional account of patriotic Americans rising as one man against the tyranny of King George III is only part of the story and only partly correct. Some of the causes were due to immediate events in the history of the colonies, while others went back to the early days of their foundation. If the causes of the revolt can be summarized at all it is best to regard them as an expression of the dissatisfaction of the American colonies with the old colonial empire because it prevented their development in the way they wished: they wanted complete freedom to control their

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own destinies and this meant freedom from the laws of trade and the political control of Great Britain, with freedom to expand into the interior of the American continent. It is significant that some years before 1763 several foreign observers prophesied that separation of the American colonies from Great Britain was likely as soon as the threat to them from the French in Canada had been removed.

BRITISH POLICY AFTER 1763

By 1763 the American colonies had become self-governing in practically all their internal affairs, including the raising of money and control of its expenditure. On the other hand they were subject to the imperial laws of trade, such as the Navigation Acts and their enforcement by royal officials, and the jurisdiction of the Admiralty Courts. But most American colonists accepted this regulation because it gave them guaranteed markets for their produce, and if the Acts became too burdensome, they could usually be avoided by smuggling or by bribing Customs officials. This evasion was upset by the policy of the British government immediately after the Seven Years War, when it adopted a policy of much stricter enforcement of the laws of trade. This and the attempt to tax conflicted directly with a growing spirit of independence in the colonies.

When the French surrendered in 1761, the British government decided to keep a garrison of 10,000 men in North America because it was faced with the control of a vast frontier area westward of the thirteen colonies. These troops were needed when there was trouble with the Indians on this frontier, which led to the rebellion of the Indian chief, Pontiac. The British government, after its heavy war expenses, determined to place some share of the cost of this army for frontier defence upon the colonists. It was the measures it took to raise this money that started colonial opposition.

THE REVENUE ACT, 1764

In 1763 an Order in Council directed that the Customs officers should be diligent in collecting revenue and that if necessary their

The Revenue Act, 1764

efforts were to be supported by the British military and naval forces in America. The Revenue Act of 1764 made its purpose quite clear: 'Whereas it is just and necessary that a revenue be raised in Your Majesty's said dominions in America for defraying the expenses of defending, protecting, and securing the same.' The Act levied duties on produce from foreign colonies which were imported into the British colonies, much as had been done by the Molasses Act of 1733. It also strengthened the authority of the Customs officers in making seizures of ships which broke the laws of trade. Most of the legislatures of the American colonies protested against this Revenue Act and presented petitions to Parliament against it. They emphasized the principle that ever afterwards was to be so important to American opinion—that of no taxation without representation.

THE STAMP ACT, 1765

Meanwhile the British government had asked the American colonies to consider ways and means of raising their share of the money needed to maintain the regular army garrison in America. The colonies did nothing and in March 1765 the Stamp Act was passed, to take effect in November of the same year. To raise revenue, this Act placed a stamp duty on newspapers, pamphlets, calendars, playing cards and legal documents, such as wills, conveyances of land, leases, contracts, and bills of sale. The tax affected many people, notably the most influential members of the colonial communities, the lawyers, the merchants and the printers. It was direct internal taxation against which a united colonial opposition very soon appeared. It was impossible to enforce the Act and the use of the stamps owing to mob violence, riots and the general opposition of the influential classes in the colonies. Resolutions against the Act were drawn up by several of the more important colonial legislatures, notably Virginia. In these resolutions the principle of no taxation without representation was once again emphasized. Representatives from some of the colonies met at New York in October 1765 to protest against the Stamp Act. This was the so-called Stamp Act Congress, which was an inter-

The Loss of the Thirteen American Colonies

colonial gathering and set the pattern for the later continental congresses which directed the opposition against the mother-country before the outbreak of the War of Independence.

REPEAL OF THE STAMP ACT, 1766

At the same time the merchants of New York, Philadelphia and Boston took what was probably a more important step when they agreed not to import any goods or manufactures from Great Britain until the Stamp Act was withdrawn. These non-importation measures alarmed the merchants and manufacturers in Britain who used their influence to persuade the new Ministry, that of the Rockingham Whigs, to repeal this unpopular Stamp Act. The Rockingham Ministry, seeking for support from the influential City of London, agreed to do this and in 1766 repealed the Stamp Act. At the same time, the British Parliament passed a Declaratory Act. This declared in clear terms that the colonies were subordinate to the Imperial Parliament which had 'full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever'. In their satisfaction at the repeal of the Stamp Act, the American colonists perhaps did not pay much attention to the Declaratory Act, or to another Revenue Act passed in 1766. This Revenue Act reduced the duty on foreign and British molasses imported into the colonies to one penny a gallon, and this in the course of time not only made smuggling quite unprofitable but also raised a considerable revenue for the purposes for which the British government had imposed the Stamp Act.

THE TOWNSHEND DUTIES, 1767

More serious opposition started in 1767, due to a revival of the policy of trying to raise revenue from the American colonists to pay for part of the cost of the regular troops in America. Charles Townshend, Chancellor of the Exchequer in the divided and feeble Chatham-Grafton Ministry of 1766-9, persuaded Parliament to pass an Act imposing revenue duties on imports into the American colonies of glass, red and white lead, painters' colours, tea, and

The Townshend Duties, 1767

paper. He anticipated that a revenue of £40,000 a year would be obtained from these customs duties, which could be used for the payment of colonial governors, judges and other royal officials in the colonies. The colonists saw the danger here, for if the Act succeeded, the royal government and royal officials in the colonies would be independent of the colonists; they would have a civil list provided by the revenue from these duties. At the same time another Act was passed to set up an American Board of Customs to make the collection of customs duties more efficient. It appointed a Board of five commissioners, resident at Boston and with complete charge of the North American Customs Services. In 1768 Vice-Admiralty Courts were set up at Halifax, Boston, Philadelphia and Charleston. These two last measures undoubtedly made the collection of customs more efficient and prevented breaches of the Navigation Laws but they could not fail to irritate the Americans. The British government showed itself unsympathetic to the protests that arose and in July 1767 it passed an Act suspending the New York Assembly, because this colony had refused to comply with the Quartering Act of 1765, which said that the colonists must provide quarters and necessities for His Majesty's troops stationed in America.

The Townshend Acts were widely opposed by the colonists. There were indignation meetings, numerous pamphlets, such as the 'Letters from a Farmer' of John Dickinson of Pennsylvania and, more important, the official opposition of the legislatures of the colonies. In February 1768 the legislature of Massachusetts took the lead in drawing up a circular letter denouncing the Townshend Acts and sending this letter to the other colonies for their support. The Customs officers found it increasingly difficult to carry out their work owing to mob violence, and more and more they had to ask for the protection of the British army and navy. Troops were moved into Boston and ships of the Royal Navy were sent to the port as well. A general agreement not to import British manufactures was brought about by popular pressure in most but not all of the colonies; some colonial merchants had become fully aware of the fact that such agreements were directly harmful to their interests, as well as those of Great Britain.

The Loss of the Thirteen American Colonies

The Townshend Revenue Act was a failure as very little revenue was collected between 1768 and 1770 when the duties on all commodities except tea were repealed; the total was not more than £20,000. It was Lord North who repealed the Townshend Revenue Act in April 1770, but the duty on tea was retained, presumably to maintain the principle of the right of Great Britain to tax her colonies. The more moderate elements in the American colonies, such as the merchants and planters, were glad of this repeal, as they had been given a fright by the political activity of the radical movements in the colonies, who had been most active in leading the opposition to the British government and endorsing measures of opposition, such as the non-importation and non-consumption agreements.

THE WESTERN FRONTIER PROBLEM

In another matter, that of the control of the western frontier, the colonists gradually came to dislike the policy of the British government, although this was based on sensible plans and good intentions. Beyond the Allegheny mountains and reaching westwards to the great river plain of the Mississippi lay a fertile land inhabited only by Indians, who used it as their hunting grounds. The settlers in the frontier districts of the colonies had already begun to cross the mountains and to make settlements in this land. The British government was faced with the problem of control of the Indian tribes; already there had been, in 1763, an Indian rising headed by the chief Pontiac which had affected the land between the Great Lakes and the headwaters of the Ohio river. It had been put down with some difficulty and the British government naturally wished to prevent a recurrence.

There were other difficult problems such as the policy to be adopted towards the frontier settlers, who wished to take up land in this area, and also the problem of the regulation and control of the fur trade. Sooner or later the question of settling new colonies in this area would have to be decided. The royal proclamation of October 1763 announced a provisional frontier policy. It defined the boundaries of the new provinces of Canada and the Floridas

The Western Frontier Problem

and as far as possible tried to keep settlers and Indians apart. It followed this up with a well-meant plan for the control of Indian relations by appointing two superintendents, who were to control traders in this area and protect the Indian as much as possible, and to try and keep the peace between them. By 1768 these superintendents had marked out a frontier line between the Indian hunting grounds and the lands open to white settlement. It was very difficult to get this line respected by the frontiersmen and the attempt to do so caused ill-feeling between the colonists and the mother-country; there were too many colonial fur traders and land speculators who wished for no control whatsoever in this unsettled land. In 1768, because of increasing cost, the British government abandoned control and handed it over to the colonies. The results very quickly led to a resumption of royal control in 1773. Governors were forbidden to issue warrants for survey, or to issue patents granting land, except by permission of the Crown. Finally, in 1774, the British Parliament passed the Quebec Act. This offended the colonists for two reasons: one was the religious toleration given to the Roman Catholic population in French-Canada, and the other was the attachment of the region between the Ohio river and the Great Lakes to the province of Quebec. It shut out the American colonists from the fur trade of this area and transferred it to the fur traders of Montreal.

GROWTH OF COLONIAL OPPOSITION AFTER 1770

Although the Townshend duties had been repealed in 1770 the situation was unstable, with colonial opposition steadily growing. There were serious incidents, like the Boston Massacre of 1770 when the soldiers fired on a Boston mob, and in 1772 when the revenue schooner, the *Gaspee*, was captured and burnt by Rhode Island colonists. During these years, in fact as far back as 1766, revolutionary organizations had been building up in the various colonies. They included in their ranks planters, lawyers and even some merchants, and these influential people rallied behind them the lower ranks of society, particularly in the New England colonies, where there was ample opportunity for discussion of grievances in

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the town meetings which were local democratic assemblies. Here the policy of the government and the Governor of the colony could be freely attacked, although the legislature of the colony might have been prorogued or dissolved by an exasperated Governor. Secret societies, such as the Sons of Liberty, were organized. Other measures were to set up committees of correspondence in each colony, who kept in touch with their neighbours; the aims of these committees were to find out what was going on and to organize opposition to any unpopular measures the British government might impose. The colonists were thus well prepared for any future measures of the British government which might attack their rights.

THE BOSTON 'TEA PARTY' AND ITS RESULTS

The occasion for further opposition was the Tea Act of 1773, which gave permission for the East India Company to export its tea directly to America and to set up agencies in the colonies for selling this. The American colonies would get their tea more cheaply, but American smuggling interests were adversely affected and the patriotic elements denounced this new Act as tyrannical, which it was not. It was, however, a convenient issue on which to oppose the British government. The patriots announced that they would do everything to prevent the tea being landed and sold and accordingly intimidated those agents who had undertaken to sell the tea in the colonies. On 16 December 1773, a number of Bostonians boarded three ships of the East India Company in Boston Harbour and threw the tea chests and their contents overboard. The loss was valued at some £10,000.

The British government could not overlook this outrage. Lawful authority had been defied; property had been destroyed and trade interrupted. The government had long regarded Massachusetts as the centre of resistance and in 1774 legislation was passed to repress this rebellious colony. These Acts of Parliament were known by the colonists as the 'Intolerable Acts'. Three of them were directed against Massachusetts: the Boston Port Act closed the port of Boston until the tea was paid for; the Massachusetts Government Act made considerable alterations in the constitution of the colony.

The Boston 'Tea Party' and its Results

The Council was to be nominated instead of elected and the Governor's powers of appointing sheriffs and lesser officials was increased; he was also given power to limit the activities of the town meetings. The Administration of Justice Act said that those officials who had been charged with murder could, if the chances of a fair trial in the colony were unlikely, be sent to England for trial there. A Quartering Act gave increased power of compulsory requisition of vacant buildings to quarter troops.

THE PHILADELPHIA CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, 1774

Colonial opposition was widespread and Massachusetts received much sympathy from the popular parties in the other colonies. Strong opposition was expressed by the first Continental Congress which met at Philadelphia in September 1774, and which had representatives from all the American colonies except Georgia. The Congress discussed two important matters: first, the measures they should take to put pressure on Great Britain to get a remedy for their grievances, probably best done, so they thought, by imposing embargoes on the export to, and import of goods from, Great Britain. Secondly, they discussed the relationship of the colonies to the mother-country and drew up a statement of the rights of the colonies in their Declaration of Rights, October 1774, in which they declared what they believed to be their constitutional rights, derived from natural law, English constitutional principles and their own foundation charters. Once again they emphasized that they alone could tax themselves through their own representative assemblies.

THE BRITISH ATTITUDE TO THE CRISIS

By the beginning of 1775, a serious situation existed in the relationship of Great Britain with her American colonies; only skilful statesmanship could bring the colonies back to their allegiance. There was a chance that this could be done, as in spite of the critical attitude of the colonies, they had not yet reached the idea of complete separation and independence. Unfortunately,

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opinion in Great Britain was mostly against the colonists and since 1765 there had been frequent mishandling of the situation.

Among the reasons for this were the frequent changes of Ministry; British political life was more concerned with its intense party faction and strife rather than with working out a sensible policy for its colonies. British opinion was not well informed about the colonies and was not particularly interested in them; to the average person in Great Britain they were probably rather remote and unimportant. It was not realized how the colonies had grown, how they had become politically conscious and how they had developed socially and economically. Above all, most informed Englishmen believed firmly in the doctrine of parliamentary supremacy. If the demands of the colonists were granted, this parliamentary supremacy, which was the basis of sovereignty, would be abandoned. Chatham and Burke, both friends of the colonies, believed that this general parliamentary supremacy over the colonies must be maintained, although it would be possible to make concessions within its framework. Lord Dartmouth, the Secretary of State, expressed a generally held view when he wrote on 7 June 1774 to General Gage:

The constitutional authority of the kingdom over its colonies must be vindicated, and its laws obeyed throughout the whole Empire. It is not only its dignity and reputation, but its power—nay, its very existence depends upon the present moment; for should those ideas of independence which some dangerous and ill-designing persons here are artfully endeavouring to instill into the minds of the King's American subjects once take root, that relation between this kingdom and its colonies, which is the bond of peace and power, will soon cease to exist and destruction must follow disunion.

To George III the issue was quite clear. In October 1774 he said: 'The New England governments are in a state of rebellion, blows must decide whether they are to be subject to this country or independent.'

UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPTS AT CONCILIATION

Nevertheless, some attempts were made at conciliation. British merchants and manufacturers, alarmed at the threat to their trade,

Unsuccessful Attempts at Conciliation

petitioned the House of Commons to bring about conciliation. Edmund Burke made his celebrated speech on conciliation with America on 22 March 1775. In it, he emphasized the importance of liberty both for the colonies and the mother-country, and insisted it would prove a powerful and indissoluble bond of Empire:

As long as you have the wisdom to keep the sovereign authority of this country as the sanctuary of liberty, the sacred temple consecrated to our common faith, wherever the chosen race and sons of England worship freedom they will turn their faces towards you. Slavery they can have anywhere. It is a weed that grows in every soil. Freedom they can have from none but you. This is the commodity of price, of which you have the monopoly.

Burke and his ideas were before their time. In the first half of 1775, other attempts were made at conciliation; the Americans in July 1775, sent the 'Olive Branch Petition' offering to return to the position of 1763, but this was rejected by George III. Events had gone too far for this to be successful. Fighting had already started in Massachusetts, when General Gage sent a force to seize colonial arms at Concord and Lexington (April 1775). This was followed in June 1775 by the costly victory of Gage over the American militia at Bunker Hill. The second Continental Congress met in May 1775 and appointed Washington Commander-in-Chief of the troops in New England. It also issued a declaration of the causes and necessity for taking up arms. On the British side in August 1775 a royal proclamation of Rebellion was made, followed in December by an Act prohibiting trade with the thirteen colonies and which also made the ships and goods of Americans liable to seizure by the British navy.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, 1776

These British measures played into the hands of the revolutionary leaders and made it easier for them to get the idea of total independence accepted, in spite of considerable opposition from the conservative and propertied elements in all the colonies who for some time had feared that independence might bring the triumph of popular mob rule to the detriment of their own position. In the

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first few months of 1776, feeling moved rapidly towards independence. It was helped by the forceful pamphlet of Tom Paine called 'Commonsense', in which he advocated complete independence and a republican constitution for the American colonies. In April 1776 American commerce was open to the world and independent State governments, each with its own constitution, began to appear, for example, South Carolina, March 1776; Virginia, June 1776.

The debates in the Continental Congress for and against independence went on for nearly a month. There was opposition from several of the colonies to this motion for independence. Finally it was accepted and signed on 4 July 1776. This famous document first set forth the political ideas of the American colonists. Next, it gave a long recital of those events since 1763 which they considered to be injuries and usurpations inflicted on them by George III and the British government, and also accounts of the attempts of the imperial Parliament to extend 'an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us'.

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general Congress, assembled, do, in the name, and by authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these united colonists are, and of right ought to be free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do.

REASONS FOR GREAT BRITAIN'S DEFEAT

Great Britain had been very successful in her overseas campaigns during the Seven Years War. Why then did she lose this war of the American Revolution? A number of reasons can be given. First, Great Britain was fighting a mobile and elusive enemy scattered over a large country, which had poor communications and much of which was trackless wilderness. Reinforcements and supplies for the British forces in America had to come 3000 miles across the

Reasons for Great Britain's Defeat

Atlantic Ocean. The forces which Great Britain sent were too small to inflict decisive defeat upon the Americans; it was also difficult to live off the country because of the hostile attitude of the inhabitants. On the other hand there was the considerable assistance of the Royal Navy which, because of its superiority in American waters during the first years of the war, was used to move the British forces along the coast and up its many tidal estuaries. The direction of the war by Lord North and his fellow ministers at home was not very efficient; they had little appreciation of the difficulties; their plans of campaign were not very clear and there were difficulties of communication with their generals in the field, because of the time taken for orders to cross the Atlantic and for a reply to be returned.

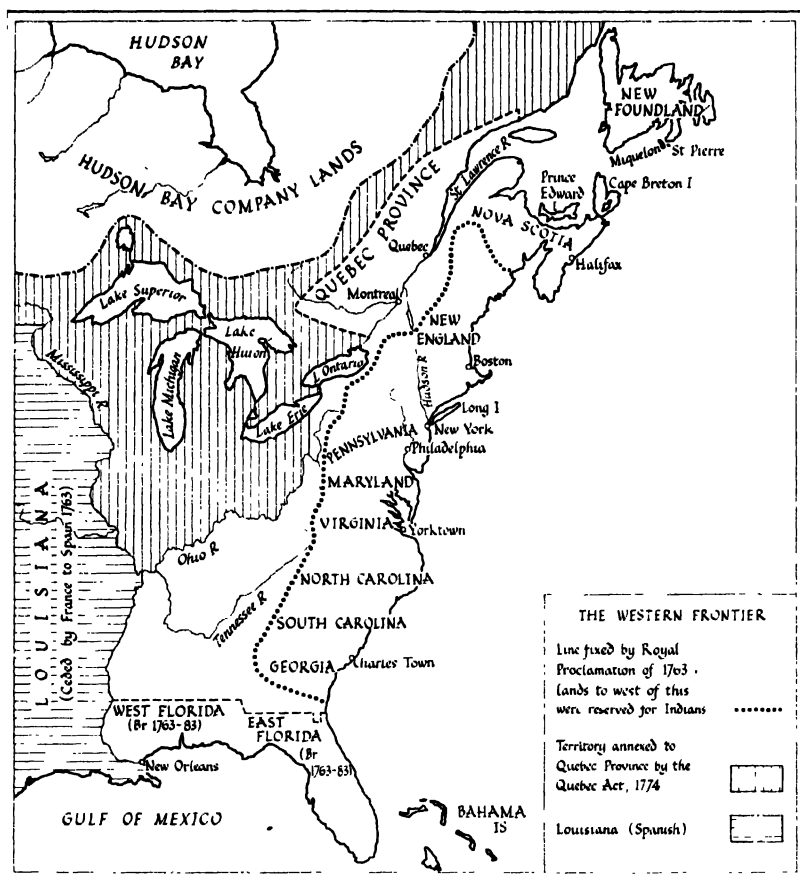
The British troops fought well but with them the war was unpopular as it was a civil war. Recruiting was therefore not very brisk and the British government had to recruit German mercenaries to supplement their forces. By contrast, the Americans had a cause, that of freedom and independence, to fight for, besides which they were supported by the majority of their own people in their own land. In George Washington, they had an able and inspiring commander who, in spite of many difficulties and adverse circumstances, fashioned an army which, with French help, was finally to inflict defeat upon the British troops.

HOWE'S OPERATIONS, 1775-7

In spite of his victory at Bunker Hill in June 1775, Gage remained besieged in Boston. In September he was replaced by General Howe, who remained at Boston through the winter of 1775-6. Howe's plan was to attack New York with the hope of securing the Hudson river line and thereby isolating the New England colonies. He also hoped that help would come from Canada but during the winter of 1775-6, the Americans made a successful raid on Canada. They occupied Montreal, but were repulsed at Quebec. In March 1776 Howe left Boston, which was becoming increasingly difficult to hold, and took his forces by sea to Halifax to await reinforcements.

At the beginning of July, Howe arrived off New York. By

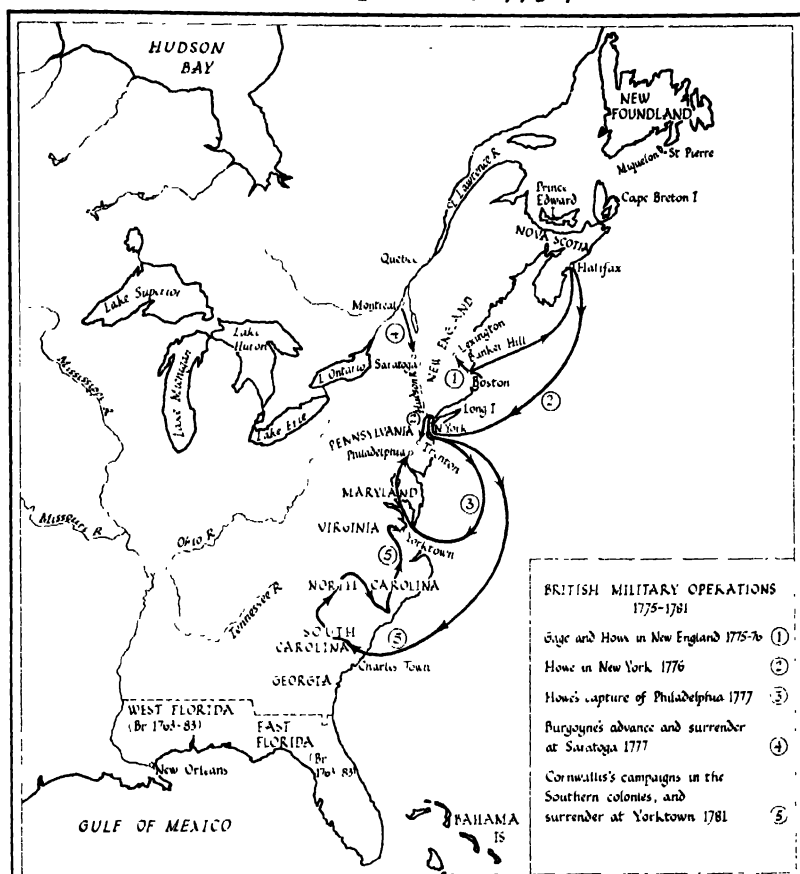
The Loss of the Thirteen American Colonies



MAP 6. THE WAR OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE
(a) THE WESTERN FRONTIER

August he had a force of 25,000 men. He landed on Long Island and defeated Washington at Brooklyn. Subsequently he made a slow advance up the Hudson river to drive Washington out of New York, which he eventually did, but his indecision allowed Washington to retire without any great loss. The British attack now gathered momentum and the Americans had to fall back. The British crossed the Hudson and advanced into New Jersey. In December 1776 Washington retreated across the Delaware river but owing to lack of boats, the leading division under Cornwallis

Howe's Operations, 1775-7



(b) BRITISH MILITARY OPERATIONS, 1775-81

could not cross in pursuit. The British army then went into winter quarters; at the end of December Washington crossed the frozen Delaware river and forced the Hessian mercenaries to surrender at Trenton.

BURGOYNE'S SURRENDER AT SARATOGA, 1777

At this stage Howe was waiting for the force from Canada under Carleton with whom he intended to join and cut off the New England colonies. Because of the slowness of Carleton's advance, Howe at the end of December 1776 made a complete change of

The Loss of the Thirteen American Colonies

plan; he decided to strike at Philadelphia. Owing to the incompetence of the Secretary of State, Lord George Germain, this change of plan was allowed to proceed with the result that the expedition from Canada under General Burgoyne in its advance south to the Hudson river was unsupported by any movement in that direction by Howe. This campaign of 1777 started late: Burgoyne taking the field in June and Howe not till July, when he left New York by sea for Chesapeake Bay leading to Philadelphia. Burgoyne, in spite of the difficult country, at first made good progress, but he had too few troops, about 5000 as against the 12,000 opposed to him. Although Clinton made a diversion on the Hudson river this was insufficient to draw off the Americans who were opposed to Burgoyne who was forced to surrender to Gates at Saratoga, October 1777. Although Burgoyne knew of Howe's change of plan shortly before he started he should not have been allowed to take his force through such difficult country without strong support from the south. The blame for Saratoga must therefore fall on Lord George Germain.

In September, Howe, after defeating Washington at Brandy Wine Creek, occupied Philadelphia. An attack by Washington soon after was defeated at Germantown. The Delaware river was opened to British shipping and Washington drew off into winter quarters at Valley Forge, where Howe carelessly allowed him to recover and refit his shattered forces during the winter of 1777-8. The capture of Philadelphia was entirely offset by the surrender at Saratoga, which had important consequences. It brought France and Spain into the war on the side of the Americans. War with the Dutch and the activities of the Armed Neutrality of the North added to the difficulties of Great Britain, because she now had to fight the navies of these powers at a time when she needed her fleet to maintain her superiority in American waters. Unfortunately, the navy was in a bad state and not strong enough to repeat the successful methods of the Seven Years War when the French fleet had been blockaded in its harbours. Military operations against the French in the West Indies and elsewhere made it impossible to reinforce the new British commander in America, General Clinton, who consequently had to remain on the defensive for the time being.

Burgoyne's Surrender at Saratoga, 1777

A skilful defensive, by prolonging the war, might persuade the Americans to ask for peace. In June, Clinton left Philadelphia and marched overland to New York, brushing aside American opposition on the way. His position here was now threatened by the presence of a strong French naval squadron under Admiral d'Estaing, but owing to the skilful manœuvring of Admiral Howe with a smaller fleet, this was prevented.

CLINTON AND CORNWALLIS IN THE SOUTH

In 1779 difficulties increased for Great Britain. There was the threat of invasion by France and Spain and only good fortune and the presence of the navy in the English Channel prevented this. Gibraltar was attacked by Spain and had to be defended and relieved. All these operations took away ships from American waters and, together with the lack of reinforcements, restricted the operations of Clinton. Nevertheless, at the end of 1779, he left New York for the southern colonies, landing in South Carolina. It was thought that in these colonies there would be sufficient loyalists ready to support operations. More important, attacks in the south would harm the export trade in rice, tobacco and cotton from which the colonists financed their war effort. After capturing Charleston, Clinton returned to New York, leaving Cornwallis in command, who won considerable successes in South Carolina during the latter half of 1780. To counteract this movement, the French sent 6000 troops to New England; these might have been attacked and destroyed had there been a proper co-operation between Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot.

THE SURRENDER AT YORKTOWN, 1781

Early in 1781 the crisis of the war in America was reached. Washington himself was in difficulties as his armies were thinned by desertion, and difficulties over pay had arisen. In the south, Cornwallis had advanced somewhat rashly from North Carolina into Virginia. But Clinton had ordered back as many troops as possible to New York, and Cornwallis, hoping for reinforcements by

The Loss of the Thirteen American Colonies

sea, took up a defensive position at Yorktown, overlooking the Chesapeake. A powerful French fleet under De Grasse arrived off the estuary; its entry was disputed but not prevented by a British fleet. This sealed the fate of Cornwallis, for he was now shut up in Yorktown and besieged by a Franco-American army of about 16,000 men. On 19 October 1781 Cornwallis surrendered. This defeat ended the war on the mainland of America, although military and naval operations continued for another eighteen months in Europe and the West Indies. Admiral Rodney's victory off the Saintes, April 1782, prevented the capture of Jamaica by a Franco-Spanish expedition and Elliot's resourceful defence ended Spanish hopes of recovering Gibraltar. But elsewhere the odds had been too great and because of the armed intervention of France and Spain in support of American resistance, Great Britain lost her American colonies. Only constant British naval superiority in American waters could have prevented this and such superiority was lacking at the critical time in October 1781. Lord North resigned. George III, with great difficulty, was prevailed upon to accept the hard fact that the thirteen colonies were irretrievably lost, and a new Ministry prepared to make peace with France and Spain and to recognize American independence.

THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES, 1783

By the Treaty of Versailles, negotiated between the end of 1782 and beginning of 1783, Great Britain recognized the independence of the American colonies. In the hope of securing restitution by the victorious Americans of the property and lands they had confiscated from the considerable number of American loyalists who had fought for King George, Great Britain ceded to the United States the land between the Ohio and Mississippi which had been joined to Quebec by the Act of 1774. In her negotiations with France and Spain, Great Britain, partly because of the victories of Rodney and Elliot, was able to moderate the claims of these two powers. France secured the right of fishing off Newfoundland with the two islands of St Pierre and Miquelon. In the West Indies Great Britain ceded Tobago to France but recovered those islands

The Treaty of Versailles, 1783

lost during the war: St Kitts, Nevis, Montserrat, Grenada, St Vincent and Dominica. In West Africa Senegal and Goree were restored to France who recognized the British position on the Gambia river. Spain recovered Minorca and Florida; she recognized the right of the British to cut logwood in certain areas of central America. Peace between Great Britain and the Dutch was made by a separate treaty in 1784 by which the Dutch ceded Negapatam, the best harbour on the Coromandel coast, and also promised not to obstruct British navigation in Far Eastern waters.

II

THE GROWTH OF A SECOND BRITISH EMPIRE

THE SHIFT TO THE EAST

The loss of the thirteen American colonies was humiliating for Great Britain but it was quickly accepted with little inclination to mourn the separation. It was argued that the American colonies had been a misfit in an empire whose interests were primarily maritime and commercial. Their representative system of government had weakened the political control of Great Britain over them and had finally led to their independence. Consequently a prejudice arose against any more white settled colonies with representative government; it was influential in British imperial policy during the first half of the nineteenth century until it was overthrown by events leading to white settlement in Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa.

In 1783 Great Britain retained a nucleus of empire both in

The Growth of a Second British Empire

temperate and tropical zones. In North America she kept Canada, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland and Hudson Bay; in the Caribbean she retained all her islands except Tobago; in West Africa there were slaving bases on the coast; in the East a rapidly growing empire in India. From this nucleus a second British empire was developed and the interesting fact is that this development had started some years before the loss of the American colonies. Since 1763 Great Britain's imperial policy aimed at the expansion of her trade in the world with control of strategic bases from which this trade could be protected; in particular her interests were shifting from America to the East and the motive behind this policy was the need for export markets. Great Britain was becoming increasingly an industrial country and wanted markets overseas where she could sell her goods and with the proceeds buy oriental produce for resale in European markets. The emphasis was now on trading posts and strategic bases and not settlement as in the seventeenth century; at all costs she wished to avoid developing colonies which would set up rival industries with those at home. The whole matter was summed up by Lord Shelburne in 1782 when he said: 'We prefer trade to dominion.'

THE APPROACH TO THE PACIFIC

Great Britain had much reduced the empire of France in America but the great Spanish empire remained intact, and after 1763 this became the target of British expansion. The search was for bases which would give an entry to the Pacific, hitherto a Spanish preserve. In 1764 Captain John Byron was sent on a voyage of discovery to the south Atlantic. In particular, he was to explore the Falkland Islands lying in the south Atlantic which might provide a suitable base for further operations into the South Sea, as the Pacific was known in the eighteenth century; Anson after his world voyage in 1740-4 had pointed out the value of these islands to control this trade route. As a result, the Falkland Islands were occupied by Great Britain in 1765 but given up in 1773 because of the difficulties this occupation caused with France who also claimed some of them and more particularly with Spain, who was deter-

The Approach to the Pacific

mined to keep Great Britain out of these islands because she feared penetration of the Pacific. The British claim to the Falklands was revived in the nineteenth century when a colony was established there between 1833 and 1844.

THE VOYAGES OF CAPTAIN COOK, 1768-80

The three voyages of Captain James Cook not only revealed much of the geography of the Pacific Ocean but were also closely connected with the British attempt to expand their trade in this area. These voyages were originally connected with the search for 'Terra Australis Incognita'. From the sixteenth century onwards, geographers had held the idea that there existed a southern continent which awaited discovery. In the seventeenth century parts of Australia, New Zealand and some of the islands of the Pacific had been located by Dutch or Spanish seamen, and eighteenth-century writers thought that these lands were part of this great southern continent.

The first two voyages of Cook were concerned with the search for the southern continent. On his first voyage, 1768-71, Cook sailed to the Society Islands where an astronomical observation was made of the transit of the planet Venus. After this he went southwards to latitude 40° in his search for the continent. Finding no continent, Cook turned westward and reached New Zealand, which he circumnavigated and thereby showed that there were two separate islands and not one as hitherto supposed. He continued to the eastern coast of Australia along whose entire length he sailed, discovering the Great Barrier Reef lying off this coast. Cook passed through Torres Strait, thus proving that New Guinea was not connected with Australia, and came home by way of the Indian Ocean and the Cape of Good Hope.

His second voyage, 1772-5, was also concerned with the search for the southern continent. This time he approached it by way of the Cape of Good Hope instead of, as in his first voyage, by way of Cape Horn. Sailing far to the south from the Cape of Good Hope, Cook reached the Antarctic Circle but his progress was barred by a great icefield. He then turned eastward, sailing in high latitudes,

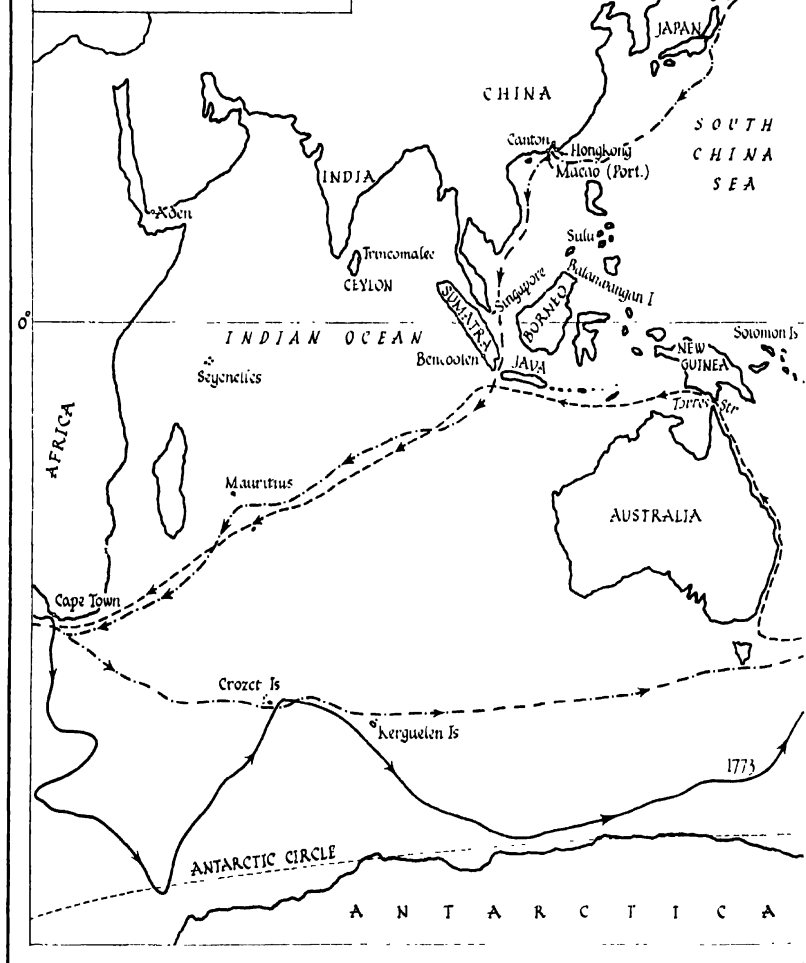
EASTERN APPROACHES AND THE PACIFIC

Voyages of Captain Cook

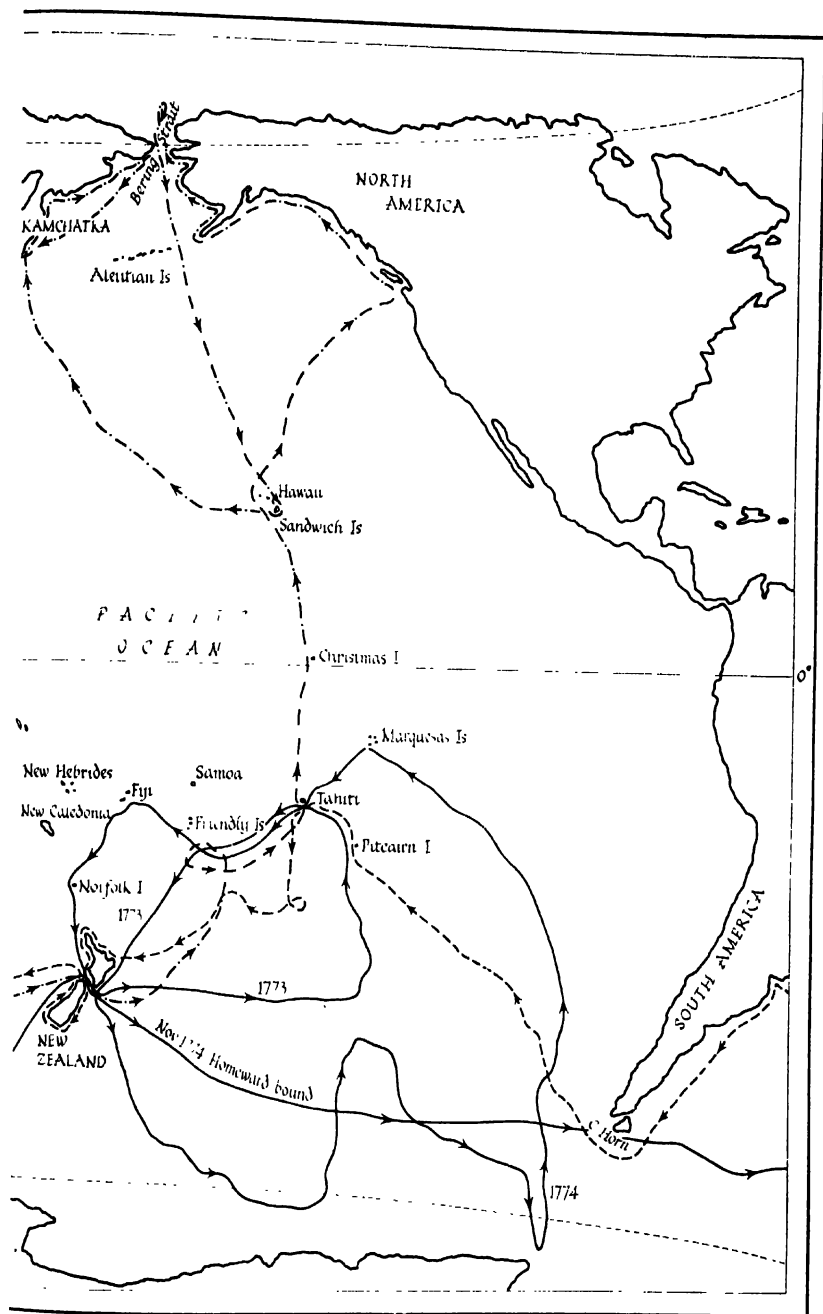
First Voyage, 1768-1771 --->---

Second Voyage, 1772-1775 —>—

Third Voyage, 1776-1780 -.->-.-



MAP 7. EASTERN APPROACHES



The Growth of a Second British Empire

and reached New Zealand in March 1773 without discovering any continent. Cook next carried out a thorough search of the area south and south-east of New Zealand, and although, on this sweep he sailed as far south as 71° , he found no land. In a final attempt he sailed due east, across the south Pacific by way of Cape Horn into the south Atlantic. He reached the Cape of Good Hope in March 1775 and thence England before the end of the year. This voyage proved that the southern continent of the earlier geographers did not exist.

Cook's third and last voyage, 1776-80, was concerned with a search for a north-west passage; he was sent to find the western end of this passage in the Pacific. Geographers and seamen of the sixteenth and seventeenth century had been much concerned with the idea of a north-west passage running from the Atlantic into the Pacific, which they thought might give a short route to the East. The extensive discoveries of Cook in the Pacific revived the wish to find this route. In 1778 Cook made a careful examination of the Pacific coast of North America from Vancouver Island northwards to the extremities of Alaska. He found no strait running towards Hudson Bay, as had been hoped for. After Cook's death in February 1779, at Hawaii, the second-in-command of the expedition sailed northwards into the Bering Sea but found no strait.

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY AND EASTERN EXPANSION

The geographical discoveries of Captain Cook in the Pacific were followed up by the English East India Company, which was well placed for an extension of trading activities to the east towards China and the East Indian Archipelago. More and more the Company's trade was concentrated on the Far Eastern markets, particularly those of China. The biggest import of the Company from China was tea, which was sold in the markets of Europe and North America. This tea was purchased by the sale to China of Indian products such as cotton goods and opium, and also partly paid for with the silver which Great Britain gained from trade with Spain. Should England be at war with Spain the supply of silver

The East India Company and Eastern Expansion

might be cut off and therefore mercantile opinion more and more urged the necessity of extending the export of British manufactured goods to China to pay for the imports of tea. If this was to be done, trading bases must be established beyond the Malay Peninsula in the great East Indian Archipelago on the way to China and Japan. These would guarantee access to the China market providing the rulers of China would agree to British merchants establishing trading bases in their country. Great Britain had also to make sure of the route to the East, which involved control of the essential sea bases on the way there. The Dutch were inconveniently placed right across this route to the East and it was not until after the end of the Napoleonic wars in 1815 that Great Britain secured the vital bases such as the Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon and footholds in the Malay Peninsula. The British aim was not so much to make settlement or colonies in these areas as to secure bases and to trade by agreement with the native rulers, which would provide maximum profit with the least responsibility.

The capture of Manila in the Philippines during the later stages of the Seven Years War encouraged the East India Company to establish themselves in this area. Negotiations were opened with local rulers and in 1764 the Sultan of Sulu ceded to the Company the island of Balambangan which was situated off the northern extremity of the great island of Borneo. It was thought that this would be the best place for the Company to set up a trading base to which would be attracted the Chinese traders, thus enabling the Company to trade with China indirectly and to avoid the heavy taxes that the Chinese officials levied on the mainland at Canton. This enterprise was mismanaged and the establishment on the north and north-west coasts of Borneo only lasted for eight years. In 1778 the Company officials quarrelled with the Sultan, who expelled them from their Balambangan settlement. Although this first attempt at a base towards the East had failed, the idea remained. Ten years later the East India Company succeeded in establishing itself at Penang on the Malay Peninsula, and this beginning was later strengthened by the acquisition of Singapore.

The Growth of a Second British Empire

THE WARS AGAINST THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND NAPOLEON, 1793-1815

These wars from 1793 to 1815 gave Great Britain the opportunity to achieve her aims of expanding trade in the East and of capturing strategic bases in all parts of the world. Much of the war effort of Great Britain was made overseas where she attacked the colonies of France and also those of her allies, Spain and Holland. Combined operations by the British navy and army enabled this to be done with success both in the Caribbean and in the Indian Ocean. When peace was made in 1814-15 Great Britain's demands were for most of the enemy colonies she had taken and also for recognition of her naval supremacy. In return for this, she was ready to make concessions to set up a stable balance of power in Europe.

GREAT BRITAIN'S COLONIAL GAINS IN 1815

It was significant that the chief colonial gains of Great Britain in 1815 were connected with the sea-route to the East. The Dutch ceded the Cape of Good Hope which was essential to any naval and maritime power with a sea-route to the East; it was a watering place for ships on the long sail round the Cape of Good Hope into the Indian Ocean and beyond. In the Indian Ocean we took from the Dutch the island of Ceylon, important as it had the best harbour in the Indian Ocean at Trincomalee. British power in southern India was handicapped by the fact that on the eastern coast around Madras, there was no good harbour. The French base in the Indian Ocean, the island of Mauritius, was also taken and the lesser islands, the Seychelles. In the East Indies we had captured and occupied the Dutch colony of Java, but this was returned to them in 1815. We had, however, acquired Penang in 1786 when the East India Company had leased this island from the native Malay ruler.

In the Caribbean a few but significant conquests were made at the expense of France and Holland. During the war all the French islands had been captured by the British. These were returned at the Peace with the exception of St Lucia, sometimes described as

Great Britain's Colonial Gains in 1815

the 'Gibraltar of the Caribbean'. Further to the south and lying off the coast of South America was the Spanish island of Trinidad. This had been captured in 1797 and it was retained at the Peace. It was thought that this island, because of its nearness to South America, would be a valuable trading base from which trade could be conducted with the Spanish American colonies. A little further to the south was the colony of Dutch Guiana which we had conquered and which we kept at the Peace.

In Europe several conquests were retained, notably Malta, an important naval base in the centre of the Mediterranean which was captured from the French who had taken it from the Knights of St John. In the North Sea we kept the Danish island of Heligoland which lay off the mouths of the German rivers Weser and Elbe. This had been used during the war as a base from which English goods could be smuggled into Europe. A British Protectorate was declared over the Ionian Islands lying off the west coast of Greece in the southern half of the Adriatic Sea.

OTHER COLONIAL EXPANSION, 1783-1815

Besides this extension of the British empire by conquest, there were a few colonies made by settlement in the last twenty years of the eighteenth century. These were the settlements of Upper Canada or Ontario, and Nova Scotia, and also the beginnings of the colony of New Brunswick; they were the work of the United Empire Loyalists who, as loyal subjects of King George III, had been obliged to leave their original homes of settlement in the thirteen American colonies (see Chapter 12).

The War of American Independence was responsible for the setting up of a British colony in Australia. The British government was faced with the need for a new convict settlement because it could no longer send convicts sentenced to transportation to the American colonies. It therefore decided to send them to New South Wales, which Captain Cook had declared British when he visited it during his first voyage. Thus the penal colony of New South Wales was set up in 1786 and the first shipment of convicts left England in 1787. Lastly, the colony of Sierra Leone was founded

The Growth of a Second British Empire

in 1787 to give a home to slaves who had gained their freedom, following Lord Mansfield's judgement in the case of *Sommersett v. Stuart* (1772) that slavery could not exist on the soil of England. Their number was added to by those Negroes from the thirteen American colonies who had followed their loyalist masters and who now sought a home. One of the most interesting features of this colony was that from the very start the Negro freeman received the political rights of Englishmen and a government based on the English constitution was set up in the colony from the very beginning. Thus at a time where in many other parts of the British empire Negro slavery still existed, here was an example of Negro freemen with full political and civil rights.

NEW ATTITUDES TO THE PROBLEMS OF EMPIRE

The period between 1763 and 1815, which witnessed the development of a second British empire, also saw the development of new ideas and attitudes towards the problems of empire. The first empire had been essentially a trading empire, concerned chiefly with matters of profit. It was prepared to use all means to attain this profit such as the elaborate system of imperial trade laws and the use of slavery. Little had been done in the first British empire for subject peoples with whom the colonists came in contact, and the inhumanity and degradation of the slave trade and slavery aroused little, if any, pity. The change in attitude which now came about was chiefly due to the growth of the humanitarian movement, which was inspired by two sources. First, it owed a great deal to Christianity and the revival of religious feeling by such people as John Wesley. It was based on the Christian belief that all men were equal in the sight of God, and that as a result all men must show compassionate understanding towards their less fortunate brothers, whatever their race or colour, since all these people were members of the human family. Secondly, the thinkers of the 'Enlightenment' of the eighteenth century preached the doctrine of the dignity of man and also the ideas of equality. One obvious field of interest for the humanitarians was the treatment of subject peoples and such evils as the slave trade and slavery.

The Growth of a Second British Empire

THE IDEA OF TRUSTEESHIP

Another change in attitude was shown by the development of the idea of trusteeship. A trust is something which in law is held by one person for the benefit of another, and the eighteenth-century Whigs thought this idea should be applied to our empire. It first came into prominence at the time of the impeachment (1787-95) of the Governor-General of India, Warren Hastings, on charges of oppression and extortion. Although Hastings was acquitted of these charges, nevertheless the principle behind the trial was an important one. It was that those who had empire also had responsibility to the peoples they ruled. It was a moral duty for Great Britain to give them good government as a matter of right; imperial rule must be just and never tyrannical. The great orator and statesman, Edmund Burke, who took a leading part in the impeachment of Warren Hastings, declared: 'We call for that spirit of equity, that spirit of justice, that spirit of protection, that spirit of lenity, which ought to characterise every British subject in power.'

On a former occasion, Burke had said: 'All political power which is set over men ought to be in some way or other exercised ultimately for their benefit.'

This idea of trusteeship had an important influence on the kind of government which Great Britain gave her less-developed colonies in the nineteenth century, especially those she had obtained by conquest during the Napoleonic wars. Her aim was to give the subject peoples who were as yet not sufficiently advanced to govern themselves, firm and just government. The pattern of government adopted for much of the British empire in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was known as Crown Colony government. In this kind of government power to rule and make laws was concentrated in the hands of the Governor, usually assisted by an Executive Council. Later a Legislative Council was added to help the Governor in the making of laws for the colony, but the Governor could refuse assent to any laws he thought undesirable or contrary to official policy. Nevertheless, the Legislative Council was the first step on the road to self-government

The Growth of a Second British Empire

and independence; in the twentieth century many of them developed into democratically elected assemblies and parliaments. The old representative system of the first empire was not applied to these new colonies chiefly because it was unlikely to give that just and impartial rule which trusteeship demanded. Thus Trinidad, a colony conquered from Spain in 1797, was not given the system of Governor, Council and Assembly because this would have given control to English planters to the disadvantage of the Spanish settlers and the existing slave population. Crown colony government in Trinidad meant that measures to improve the conditions of the slaves there could be directly enforced by Order-in-Council; the Crown did not have, as in the case of colonies like Jamaica with the old representative system of government, to request the colonial assembly to adopt and enforce the measures desired by the British government.

THE ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE

In attacking the slave trade, that is the purchase and shipment of Negroes from West Africa for sale in the Americas, the humanitarians were undertaking a large task. This inhuman trade was practised by most European nations and satisfaction was openly expressed over the great profits it produced. There was much opposition to abolition both from the organizers of the trade and, at the other end, from the planters who purchased the slaves. Nevertheless, from about the middle of the eighteenth century, a movement to abolish the slave trade arose. It was first started by Quakers in Great Britain and in Pennsylvania with the support of Christian leaders such as John Wesley. In 1783 English Quakers set up a committee of six to carry on propaganda 'for the relief and liberation of the negro slaves in the West Indies and for the discouragement of the slave trade on the Coast of Africa'. In 1787 this group was enlarged into the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade. It included Quakers but also some notable humanitarian reformers such as Thomas Clarkson and Granville Sharp, who were not Quakers. William Wilberforce was the spokesman of the movement in the House of Commons. The Prime Minister,

The Abolition of the Slave Trade

William Pitt the Younger, sympathized with the movement for the abolition of the trade.

In 1788 and 1797 laws were passed to prevent overcrowding on board the slave ships. In 1791 Wilberforce attempted to introduce a bill to stop the further importation of slaves into the British islands in the West Indies but his motion to do this was defeated by 163 votes to 88. With the outbreak of the French Revolution and the war against France, conditions became distinctly unfavourable for the abolitionists in Great Britain; they were often suspected of being revolutionaries in disguise. Nevertheless, Wilberforce persisted, year by year, in bringing forward motions in the House of Commons for leave to bring in a bill for the abolition of the slave trade, but all these were defeated.

Wilberforce was indefatigable, introducing bills for the abolition of the trade in 1799 and 1804. Finally, in 1806, steps were taken to restrict the trade. In 1806 a bill was enacted, prohibiting British subjects from engaging in slaving with foreign countries. In the same year an Order-in-Council forbade the import of slaves into Britain's new colonial conquests, such as Trinidad, St Lucia and Demerara. Finally, 1807, an Act was passed for the abolition of the trade with British colonies. The African slave trade was 'utterly abolished, prohibited and declared to be unlawful' from 1 May 1807. The original penalties in this Act for slave trading were reinforced by later Acts. In 1811 slave trading was declared a felony with the penalty of transportation for all British subjects convicted of engaging in it. Later, in 1824, slave trading on the high seas was declared piracy and therefore carried with it the death penalty. Other European nations followed Great Britain's example, and eventually prohibited the trade for their subjects, although it should be noted that Denmark was the first European country to abolish slave trading in 1804.

THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE, 1833-8

The logical consequence of the abolition of the slave trade was the abolition of the institution of slavery itself in the British empire.

The Growth of a Second British Empire

Those who had been active in bringing about the abolition of the trade transferred their energies to this new aim. In 1815, in the colonies of the British empire, there were about three-quarters of a million Negro slaves. Most of these, some 650,000, were in the British West India islands, the remainder being in Mauritius, the Cape of Good Hope, and British India. Before abolition of slavery was carried out certain attempts were made to improve the conditions of slaves. In 1798 the British government urged the colonial governments in the West Indies to improve condition for slaves, particularly female slaves with families. There were also attempts to improve the condition of slaves at law and to prevent their owners from inflicting cruel punishments or mutilation upon them. Slave owners were not to neglect their duties of clothing, feeding and giving medical attention to the Negroes, nor were they to abandon slaves in their old age. Some improvement may have resulted but in 1823 and 1824 the British government urged further reforms upon the government of the West Indian islands, namely, that the flogging of female slaves should be abolished, that slaves should be given religious instruction and that in certain cases the evidence of a slave witness should be accepted in a court of law. In the Crown colonies such as Trinidad and St Lucia, the Governors could make ordinances to enforce these changes, but the Assemblies in the other British islands, dominated by planter interests, were defiant and evasive and did little to carry out these suggested reforms.

In 1823 the Society for the Abolition of Slavery, or the Anti-Slavery Society as it was sometimes known, was formed. Its members were influential people, many of whom had worked for the abolition of the slave trade. They started an active propaganda, both inside and outside Parliament, for the abolition of slavery. They also published many pamphlets, sent out trained speakers and also attempted a boycott of slave-grown sugar. The slave-owning planters endeavoured to counteract this propaganda by pointing out, not without reason, that working conditions in English factories for women and children were worse than any that existed on their plantations in the West Indies. But the tide was running strongly in the direction of reform and after the Reform Act of

The Abolition of Slavery in the British Empire, 1833-8

1832 the House of Commons was ready to carry a measure to abolish slavery. The abolition of the rotten boroughs had deprived some of the 'West India interest' of their seats in the Commons and there was now a majority in favour of the abolition of slavery.

The bill for the Abolition of Slavery throughout the British empire received the royal assent on 28 August 1833. By it all slaves under the age of 6 years became free at once. For slaves over this age, a period of apprenticeship was ordered by the Act. There were two classes of slaves: the field slaves who worked on the cultivation of the sugar cane, and the house slaves, who were household servants or craftsmen. The field slaves were to serve their masters for a period of six years without payment on the basis of a 45 hour week; work over this time was to be paid for. The household slaves were to be apprenticed for a shorter period of four years. The idea of this apprenticeship was partly to prepare the ex-slaves for life as free people and partly to ensure that the planters should not suddenly be deprived of their labour supply. The interests of the apprentices were to be safeguarded by the appointment of special magistrates sent out from England and paid by the British government. For the planters who had owned the slaves, the sum of £20,000,000 was voted by Parliament as compensation. The apprentice system for the ex-field slaves came to an end in all the British islands in 1838, two years before the due date; the planters found the system unsatisfactory and realized that a free labour force would give more efficient production of sugar. Further results of emancipation on the society and economy of the British West Indies are given in chapter 17. The inspired and devoted work of the humanitarian abolitionists such as Clarkson, Wilberforce, Buxton and Stephen had been crowned with success. Wilberforce, who died shortly before the bill for Abolition became law, did so happy in the knowledge that a great and inhuman wrong would soon be righted.

THE MISSIONARY FACTOR

A powerful expression of Christian humanitarianism was the work of the Missionary Societies. The great age of Protestant missionary

The Growth of a Second British Empire

effort in the British empire started at the end of the eighteenth century with the foundation of missions by the various Protestant denominations: the Baptist Missionary Society (1792); the Church Missionary Society (1799); the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (1813). Others that were founded were the London Missionary Society (1795) and the British and Foreign Bible Society (1804). Other nations and other Christian Churches besides those of Great Britain joined in this great work. The Catholic Church which had been sending its Missionary Orders overseas ever since the discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was quick to enter the mission field in the newly discovered parts of Africa and the Pacific. In Africa, German and American Protestant missions were active.

The mission field was world wide but the British missionaries concentrated on Africa and the Pacific. Besides bringing the Gospel and its message of hope to their converts, the missionaries also wrought much help which took various forms. In New Zealand and the Pacific islands they did much to stop the exploitation of simple people by unscrupulous white traders; in South Africa they were a shield against the settler who coveted native lands and labour. As teachers and doctors the missionaries made a great contribution to the future of the African, Asian and Polynesian peoples. Education was an essential first step to better conditions of life: better health, housing, farming and ultimately the self-government of today.

In many ways missionary activities were a continuation of those influences which had brought about the abolition of the slave trade and slavery. In Africa missionaries were, by the civilization they brought, attacking slave trading in the interior; if peaceful trading could be joined to this missionary effort the slave trade would be killed at its sources. The British public in the nineteenth century supported missionary activities with their prayers and money and followed their doings with fervent interest. Such influential support could not be disregarded by the British government. Secretaries for the Colonies such as Lord Bathurst (1812-27) and Lord Glenelg (1835-9) were most reluctant to set up new colonies with white settlers: they feared a clash of interests between

The Missionary Factor

the settlers and the missionary interests in respect of the native peoples such as the Bantus and Maoris. But their hands were forced by a growing demand for white settlement overseas, due partly to the growing population of the British Isles and partly to the work of the advocates of systematic colonization such as Edward Gibbon Wakefield.

THE COLONIAL REFORMERS

In the 1830's and 1840's British colonial policy was influenced both in and outside Parliament by the Colonial Reformers or Radical Imperialists. They were a pressure group rather than an organized political party, including Radical Whigs and some Tories. The leading spirit was Edward Gibbon Wakefield; associated with him were Charles Buller, Sir William Molesworth, John Stuart Mill, and later Lord Durham. The group had a double line of policy. It protested against the lack of interest and contradictory policies shown by the British government of their day towards the colonies, and particularly by the Secretary for the Colonies; it criticized the inefficiency and jobbery of the officials of the Colonial Office, not altogether fairly as the senior civil servant there, Sir James Stephen, was a man of integrity and a strong supporter of trusteeship to protect the subject peoples of the empire. Secondly, they advocated systematic colonization of the empty lands of Australia, New Zealand and Canada as a remedy for the unemployment and poverty of the rapidly growing population. From 10 millions in 1801 the population of Great Britain had risen to 16 millions in 1831, with another 6 or 7 millions to be added for Ireland.

Wakefield was the leader of systematic colonization and in 1831 founded his Colonization Society to spread the doctrine. He developed his views in his *A letter from Sydney* (1829) and *A View of the Art of Colonization* (1849). The new colonies 'would be so many extensions of an old society . . . emigration from Britain would not be confined to paupers, passing by the free bridge'. Instead it would be a balanced and representative society of men and women of all social classes, landowners, professional men, merchants, skilled workmen and labourers. His second point was the vital

The Growth of a Second British Empire

importance of the 'sufficient price' for colonial lands. These Crown lands were basic capital, not to be wasted by free grants to speculators or absentees, but to be sold at a proper price. The money raised would be used for the welfare of the colony by paying for the emigration of those unable to pay for their passages.

The reformers had an uphill struggle as the Colonial Secretaries of the day, advised by Sir James Stephen, were opposed to new colonies, fearing the expense and eventual demands for self-government. Some progress was made in getting the idea of the sufficient price accepted and in placing vacant colonial lands under the control of a Lands Board in London. But Wakefield was dissatisfied with the low prices charged; in the case of South Australia whose colonization he pioneered, he thought the price should have been £2 an acre and not the 12s. actually charged. The reformers were influential in condemning the transportation of convicts as being the wrong way to found a colony and one of them, Sir William Molesworth, presided over the parliamentary committee which recommended abolition of the system. The most successful application of Wakefield's theories was the colonization in 1850-1 of Canterbury Province in South Island, New Zealand. Wakefield himself emigrated there in 1853 and lived in the colony until his death at Wellington in 1862.

The reformers played an important part in the making of the Durham Report of 1839 which established the principle for British imperial policy of granting responsible government to the colonies when the circumstances justified it. On his mission to Canada in 1838 Durham took Charles Buller as his secretary and Wakefield in an unofficial capacity to advise him on the thorny question of the public lands.

BRITISH NORTH AMERICA

THE ROYAL PROCLAMATION OF 1763

The Peace of Paris (1763) had given Great Britain French Canada (Quebec), Cape Breton Island and all the French claims as far west as the Mississippi river. To provide government for these new subjects of the British Crown a royal proclamation was made in October 1763. This promised the conquered colony of Quebec the same representative government that the conquests in the West Indies had been given. The British government then realized that fulfilment of this promise might be unwise because the French Canadians were unaccustomed to representative institutions: their government in the past had been much more autocratic, and had been modelled on the despotic rule that prevailed in France. Accordingly, in 1764, a provisional government was provided for Canada, after military government had come to an end, which consisted of a Governor who had full executive and law-making powers. He was given an Advisory Council of officials and some of the more important French Canadian citizens, to give him advice in the exercise of his powers.

THE QUEBEC ACT, 1774

In 1774 the government of Canada was redefined by the Quebec Act. This Act provided as follows:

(1) It set up a nominated Council to advise the Governor, consisting of not less than 17 or more than 23 Canadian citizens. From this Council was drawn a small executive group which also acted as a Court of Civil Appeal.

(2) French civil law and the civil rights of the French Canadian Roman Catholic population were recognized, but for criminal cases,

British North America

English criminal law was introduced. The right of the Roman Catholic clergy to their lands and to the collection of tithes from their parishioners was also recognized. These guarantees did much to secure the loyalty of the French Canadians.

(3) The Act defined the boundaries of Canada which included the land to the east known as Labrador and in the west declared annexed to Canada all the land between the river Ohio and the Mississippi.

THE UNITED EMPIRE LOYALISTS

The development of Canada was considerably influenced by the migration into it of the United Empire Loyalists who were originally inhabitants of the American colonies. They were particularly numerous in the states of New York and South Carolina. They had taken up arms during the war of American Independence on behalf of King George III and when the American colonies gained their independence their position was extremely difficult. The victorious Americans regarded them as traitors and gave them very poor treatment. These Loyalists, therefore, were forced to leave their original colonies of settlement and find homes elsewhere. With the financial assistance of the British government the great majority of them were enabled to do this in various parts of North America: a few thousand of them settled in Jamaica and other West Indian islands.

The emigration of the United Empire Loyalists was first directed to Nova Scotia. After suffering considerable hardships about 30,000 of them were settled here. Grants of land were made to them in this underpopulated colony but all this had to be cleared before any cultivation could be done. From Nova Scotia there was an overspill of migrants into the neighbouring territory, which led in 1784 to the formation of the colony of New Brunswick. Likewise, the islands which had been taken from France, Cape Breton and Île Royale (Prince Edward Island), also received a number of these Loyalists.

Equally important was the settlement of the Loyalists in the land to the westward of Quebec Province. This settlement became the Province of Ontario, known also as Upper Canada, to distinguish it from Lower Canada or Quebec. Here some 30,000 Loyalists

The United Empire Loyalists

settled and set up a colony which was wholly British in character. In both Ontario and the maritime provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, the Loyalist settlers were reinforced by emigrants from Great Britain, notably from the highlands of Scotland.

THE CANADA CONSTITUTIONAL ACT OF 1791

The presence of these Loyalists in Canada created fresh problems of government: they were not satisfied with the kind of government that had been set up by the Quebec Act of 1774. They had come from colonies which had the 'old representative system' of government and they therefore demanded a form of government corresponding to this. A solution was attempted by William Pitt the Younger in the Canada Constitutional Act of 1791.

By this, Upper Canada was separated from Quebec Province and made a separate Province; the wide differences between the British Empire Loyalist elements of Ontario and the French of Quebec made this necessary. There was a Governor for the two Canadas but each Province had its own government consisting of:

(1) A Lieutenant-Governor assisted by an Executive Council nominated by and responsible to him.

(2) A legislature of two houses for each Province, with a nominated Legislative Council and an elected Assembly. The Assembly had the power of introducing, discussing and presenting laws but they could not compel the Executive, that is the Governor and his Council, to accept them if they were contrary to official policy, usually decided in London.

(3) In Upper Canada, British civil law prevailed but in both provinces English criminal law was operative.

(4) Land was set aside in Upper Canada, known as the Clergy Reserves, for the support and maintenance of a Protestant clergy. In Lower Canada, the Catholic clergy were confirmed in their lands and the grant of tithes which had been given by the Quebec Act of 1774.

WAR WITH THE U.S.A., 1812-14

In 1812 the United States, resenting the right of search of her ships exercised by Great Britain during the war against Napoleon, and having aggressive designs on the frontier areas of Upper

British North America

Canada, declared war. The brunt of this war fell chiefly on the two Canadas whose reaction showed clearly that they were satisfied with British rule. Both French and British Canadians united to repulse American invasions of Upper and Lower Canada. Not only did they do this but in 1814 they also carried the war into American territory at the same time as British troops captured and burnt Washington in retaliation for the damage the American invaders had done in Upper Canada. When this unnecessary war ended with the Treaty of Ghent (December 1814) the Canadians had taken their first step to becoming a nation. Better relations between Canada and the U.S.A. soon followed: in 1817 the two countries agreed that no warships should be kept on the Great Lakes. In the following year the difficult question of the boundary between the U.S.A. and British North America was tackled; it was agreed that this should run along the 49th parallel of latitude westward from the Lake of the Woods as far as the Rocky Mountains. No settlement was made of the frontier beyond these mountains, and this remained in dispute until the Oregon Treaty of 1846, which continued the boundary along the 49th parallel to the Pacific Ocean.

THE BEGINNINGS OF WESTWARD EXPANSION

The trading posts of the Hudson Bay Company had originally been on the shores of the Bay and along the rivers running into it. The British conquest of French Canada in 1763 marked the start of a challenge to the monopoly of the Company in the fur-bearing lands from rival companies who operated (as the French had done) from Montreal. The most important of these rivals was the North-west Company which was also active in exploration towards the Rockies and the lands of the Arctic Circle. To protect its interests the Hudson Bay Company began to move southwards from the Bay, and to block the way westwards it granted in 1811 a concession to Lord Selkirk who then founded, mainly with Scottish immigrants, the Red River Colony; this was the beginning of the province of Manitoba. In 1821 the Hudson Bay and North-west Companies amalgamated and until 1869, when they surrendered their sovereignty and territories to the Crown, carried on trading and

The Beginnings of Westward Expansion

trapping in this vast area from Ontario to the Pacific. The Company for long was reluctant to colonize extensively, thinking that this would interfere with the fur trade, and in any case no intensive settlement could be made until railways were constructed.

THE DEMAND FOR CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM IN UPPER AND LOWER CANADA

The population had risen from half a million in 1815 to three millions in 1850. The new emigrants went mainly to Upper Canada and to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. A demand for political change arose because many of the immigrants brought in with them liberal or reforming ideas. Dissatisfaction in both provinces centred round the representative form of government given by the Canada Act of 1791. In Lower Canada where the French Canadian element predominated the grievance was that the 'officials' were English; in Upper Canada that they were drawn exclusively from the United Empire Loyalist families and that the newer British settlers were excluded from government. There was much truth in this, and in both the Canadas the ruling class came from the better-off people who had been settled longest in the country and who distrusted the democratic demands from below. The demand was for political reforms which would broaden the basis of government.

In Upper Canada the new settlers criticized the 'Family compact' of the older settlers for their unsatisfactory land-settlement programme. It was alleged that they held vast areas of empty land, that they kept the price up and prevented incoming settlers from getting the land they wanted. Connected with this land problem there was the problem of the Clergy reserves which were public lands that the Canada Act of 1791 had set aside for the support of the Protestant clergy. Naturally the Anglican Church, as the Established Church of England, claimed that it alone was the official Church in Canada. Other Protestant churches such as the Presbyterian Church of Scotland contested this claim. Non-conformist settlers such as Wesleyan Methodists who had come into the colony much resented this privilege of the Anglican

British North America

Church. The Clergy reserves were scattered over the land and blocked settlement. By 1824 in the Upper Canada Assembly a Reform party was formed and led by William Lyon MacKenzie, a Scottish immigrant. MacKenzie was a skilful journalist and his attacks angered the prominent members of the 'Family compact'. MacKenzie was elected to the Assembly in 1828, and in 1835 as the leader of the Reform Group in the Assembly issued his seventh report on grievances. The Governor, Sir Francis Head, sided with those who opposed MacKenzie, who in 1837 put himself at the head of a somewhat foolish rebellion. A few hundred ill-armed rebels gathered around Toronto but they very quickly dispersed. MacKenzie fled to the United States.

In Lower Canada the issue was complicated by race; the members of the Assembly were French-speaking Catholics, whereas most of those who ruled them, members of the Lieutenant-Governor's Executive Council and the Legislative Council, were English. The Assembly had become the spokesman for the interests of the French-speaking people of Lower Canada, and sought to promote a French Canadian nationalism. There was also economic rivalry between the two peoples. The French Canadians of Quebec were mainly a farming community, and resented the advance in the province of English business interests connected with the fur trade, banking and industry. Under the leadership of Louis Joseph Papineau, the Assembly of Lower Canada continued a running struggle with the Governor over the Civil list, that is, the money required for the payment of the salary of the Governor and of the permanent officials of the colony. The Assembly claimed to control all the public revenues of the colony; in 1831 the British government gave way and handed over most of the revenue to the control of the Assembly without imposing any conditions. In 1834 under Papineau's influence the Assembly produced a document known as the 92 Resolutions of Grievances, in which they asked for an elected Legislative Council so as to break the power of the Governor. The British government in 1837 replied by declaring that they could have neither self-government nor an elected Legislative Council and even permitted government in Lower Canada to use local revenues without the Assembly's authority. This led to armed

Constitutional Reform in Upper and Lower Canada

rebellion in 1837, in the neighbourhood of Montreal; it failed because Papineau's somewhat revolutionary ideas did not appeal to many of the conservatively minded French Canadians.

THE DURHAM REPORT, 1839

Both these rebellions drew the attention of the British government to the fact that all was not well with Canada. In 1838 the British government sent out the Earl of Durham as Governor-General of British North America. His mission was to restore order and to report the causes of the recent unrest. Durham was a radical Whig and was one of the colonial reformers who believed that the empire was worth keeping but it must be brought up to date; he took with him two notable colonial reformers, Edward Gibbon Wakefield and Charles Buller. He only stayed in Canada for five months but during that time worked with incredible energy. Order was restored and investigation made into many problems. On his return the celebrated Durham Report was issued in 1839. First, it condemned various evils, such as the irresponsible government of the 'Family compact', the various abuses in the granting of land, the privileges of the Anglican clergy and the Clergy reserve. It also dealt with such matters as immigration, the use of public lands, and communications; it expressed the view that one of the fundamental troubles in Lower Canada was the racial conflict between the French and English. Its most important recommendations were: that the Canadas should be granted responsible government for their own local affairs; that strictly imperial interests such as constitutional changes, defence, foreign relations and regulation of trade should be reserved for the imperial government; and lastly that there should be a union of the two Canadas in order to end racial conflict and produce a common nationality. Durham did not much care for French Canadian institutions and ways and he intended his common nationality to be English Canadian; he thought (and in this he was quite mistaken) that a union would convert the French Canadians to English ideas and traditions.

British North America

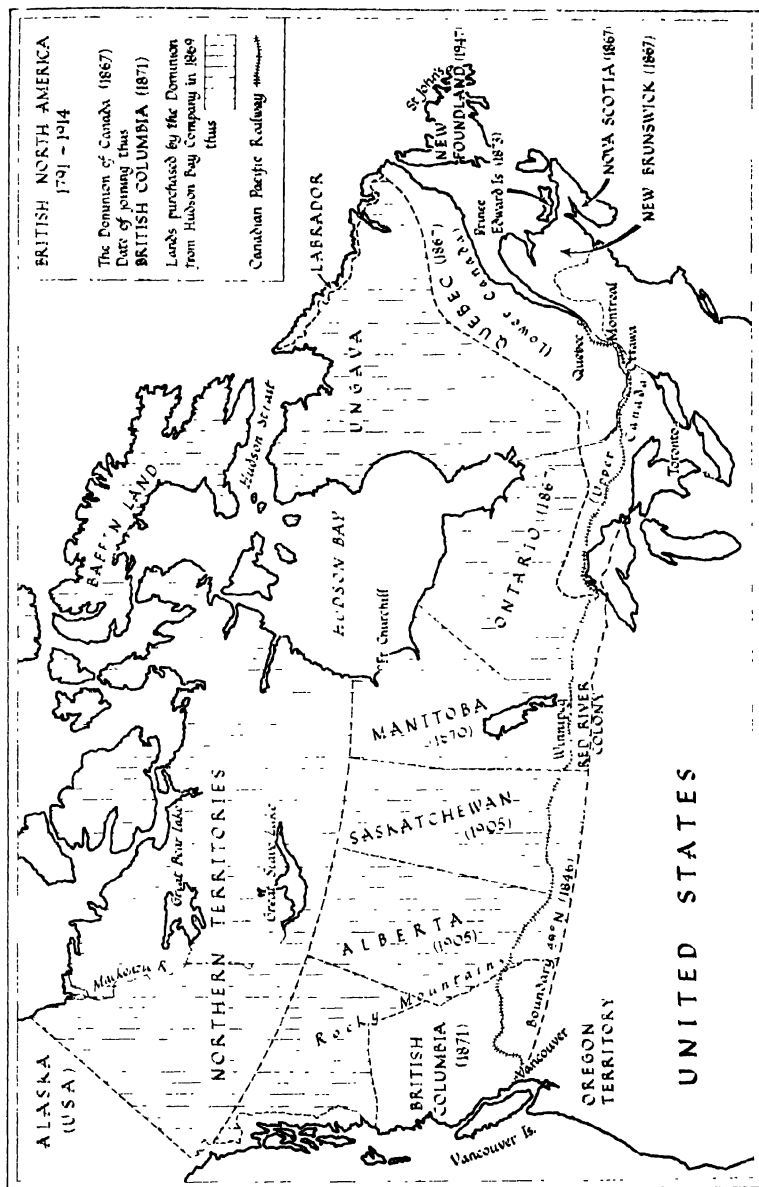
RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT, 1847-48

The only suggestion that the British government accepted was the one for the union of the two Canadas. In 1840 an Act of Union was passed which set up a United Province of Canada. Its form of government was the same as had existed before, that is, a Governor, an Executive Council, a Legislative Council and an elected Assembly. Both provinces were given an equal number of representatives, although at this time the English-speaking Upper Canada had fewer people than Lower Canada; the French Canadians resented this discrimination against their separate nationality. Nevertheless, in the Assembly parties existed those who were ready to work for responsible government and this aimed to an alliance of both English and French Canadians. Under Lord Sydenham, who became Governor in 1839, some progress towards responsible government was made. He followed the policy of choosing ministers who were acceptable to the Assembly, but they were his choice and not accepted by him from the Assembly. Progress was delayed between 1843 and 1847 because the governorship of Sir Charles Metcalfe, who was opposed to responsible government, prevented any favourable development. In 1846 the British government decided that where conditions were favourable the inhabitants of settled colonies should be allowed to govern themselves. In 1847 Lord Elgin, son-in-law of Lord Durham, came out as Governor of Canada, to carry out the new policy. In 1848 he called upon the party in the Assembly with a working majority to form a government and responsible government was established. New Brunswick and Newfoundland soon after were granted responsible government; Nova Scotia had anticipated Canada in 1846.

CANADIAN FEDERATION, 1867

Within twenty years of the establishment of responsible government in the two Canadas, the chief British colonies in North America had confederated into a union known as the Dominion of Canada. This was a remarkable achievement, having regard to the geo-

Canadian Federation, 1867



MAP 8. BRITISH NORTH AMERICA, 1791-1914

British North America

graphical factors involved. In the east the colonies were separated by great distances and far in the west beyond the Rocky Mountains was the colony of Vancouver and British Columbia. In between lay the unsettled prairies. The causes of this union were various. One reason was economic, and was because after 1850 Great Britain adopted a system of free trade, which led to the abolition of the old colonial preferences given to imports from Canada. The British North American colonies were therefore left to fend for themselves and they soon realized that a union between themselves would increase the possibilities of trade between themselves which would perhaps take the place of markets they had lost now in the mother-country. It would also enable them to negotiate with their neighbour the United States of America for a trade treaty. This they did in 1854 and until 1865, when the treaty was denounced by the United States, Canadian produce found a ready market in the U.S.A. There was mutual interchange of trade between the two countries, freedom of navigation on certain common waterways, and both countries could share in the fisheries. Another factor which helped union was the improvement in communications by the building of railways which linked up the various provinces. It was not until about 1860 that the movement for union between the British North American colonies got under way. A decisive factor was the American Civil War of 1861-5, which caused much alarm in Canada because it was thought it might lead to an attempt to conquer Canada, rather like that of the war of 1812. Canadians realized, and so did the British government, how ill-prepared they were to defend themselves against their powerful neighbour. The victorious armies of the Federal government, having defeated the southern Confederates, might now attempt the conquest of Canada. The Canadians also had the example of the success of the U.S.A. as a Federal Union. At this time the U.S.A. was rapidly extending westwards, sending out their settlers to form new states reaching out to the Pacific coast. A similar desire for a coast to coast union seized the Canadians, but only a united Canada could undertake to tackle the great task of linking up the east with the west by a trans-continental railway and only a united Canada could settle and govern the lands between the Rockies and Canada. Great Britain

Canadian Federation, 1867

also favoured union because she realized the difficulties involved in defending Canada. In 1866 a conference met in London. It accepted the plan of union with four provinces in the new federation, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Ontario, and Quebec. An Act of the Imperial Parliament, the British North America Act, embodied these terms. On 1 July 1867 it came into force and the Dominion of Canada was born. Within six years it had brought in other North American territories, Manitoba (1870), British Columbia (1871) and Prince Edward Island (1873).

THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY, 1880-5

British Columbia had agreed to join the federation on the understanding that the Federal government should build a trans-continental railway within ten years. The Canadian Pacific Railway was started in 1880 and completed in 1885. This gave the link across the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific, making true the motto of the Dominion of Canada 'From sea to sea'. The Canadian Pacific Railway was granted numerous concessions by the government, including 25 million acres of land, which fitted into a 24 mile belt on either side of the railway line across the prairies. For twenty years the Company was to have a monopoly of traffic in western Canada. These concessions were necessary to encourage people to lend money to build the railway and to give the company some chance to recover the enormous cost of building a railway through the very difficult country of the Rocky Mountains.

SETTLEMENT OF THE PRAIRIES

In 1880 there began the settlement of the prairies. Within fifteen years, between 1896 and 1914, over two and a half million emigrants had entered Canada. They were attracted by the free land that the government was offering in the prairies. Most of them were of British origin, with many from the U.S.A., and a considerable number from central and northern Europe. The population of the Dominion of Canada, in 1867 three and a quarter million people, increased to nearly six million by 1914. This increased population

British North America

and land settlement made it possible to form two new provinces in the prairies. These were Alberta and Saskatchewan, both of which were admitted to the Dominion in 1905.

ECONOMIC GROWTH OF CANADA

After 1870 there was steady development of Canada's resources. This was not confined to agriculture only as the Dominion possessed mineral wealth; there were extensive deposits of iron, copper, nickel, gold and silver. Canadian industry began to flourish with the aid of a protective tariff. The abundant supplies of hydro-electric power aided the development of both industry and mining. The building of the trans-continental railways and the flood of emigrants who settled in the prairies made Canada after 1890 one of the great grain producers of the world. Improved strains of wheat which ripened in a shorter season enabled the wheat belt to be extended further north; grain poured into the elevators for storage or for carriage by the railways to the ports of shipment to the markets of the world.

NEWFOUNDLAND

The Treaty of Utrecht (1713) had recognized Newfoundland as a British possession. The colony, concerned chiefly with cod fishing and exporting the salted fish to Europe, developed slowly. In 1728 the naval officer in charge of the station acted as Governor of the colony. The Peace of Paris (1763), besides giving France the small islands of St Pierre and Miquelon off the southern coast, also recognized the French right to use the north-west coast for drying and salting their fish. By the early nineteenth century the island's population had grown to about 50,000 and in 1832 Newfoundland was given a representative type of government by Governor, Council and elected Assembly. The conduct of the political parties was so riotous and unseemly that in 1840 the constitution was suspended and for some years afterwards Newfoundland had Crown Colony government, but in 1855 full responsible government was granted. In 1869 Newfoundland decided against joining

Newfoundland

the newly formed Dominion of Canada; there was a strong feeling of independence, a dislike of their old enemies the French Canadians and rivalry in fishing with Nova Scotia.

In the later nineteenth century numerous disputes arose over the French and American fishing rights; by agreement with the U.S.A. in 1818 Great Britain had given the Americans the right to dry and cure fish on the southern shore of the island and on both sides of the Belle Isle Strait. More and more the Newfoundlanders wished to be masters in their own house; in 1905 agreement was reached with France whereby the latter abandoned her rights to use the southern shore but kept the islands of St Pierre and Miquelon. The dispute over American rights was referred to the judgement of the Hague Tribunal in 1909 and its decision which satisfied both sides was embodied in the Washington Agreement of 1912.

Development of Newfoundland's timber and mineral resources was started after 1890. In doing this Newfoundland borrowed heavily and soon found herself burdened by a public debt far heavier than her resources and population could carry. In 1905 she sought admission to the Dominion of Canada as a way out of her difficulties but Canada was unwilling to assume responsibility for Newfoundland's debts, except on her own terms. The British government recommended a royal commission to investigate the colony's finances but rather than accept this Newfoundland raised a loan in London and kept her independence. In the early years of the twentieth century the wood-pulp industry was started; by 1940 exports of this for the manufacture of cheap paper were valued at 12 million dollars.

By the Statute of Westminster (1931) Newfoundland had become one of the self-governing Dominions, but she lost this status in 1934. Financial difficulties made her at last accept a royal commission which was severely critical of the government of the island and its financial policy. Only by surrendering her right to self-government in 1934 could Newfoundland secure the financial aid necessary to prevent default on the interest payments of her large internal debt. A nominated commission of three British and three Newfoundland members, responsible to the Secretary of State for the Dominions ruled the island until 1949 when Newfoundland

British North America

became a province of the Canadian federation. In the referendum which decided this 78,000 votes were cast for confederation and 71,000 for responsible self-government.

13

AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

I. AUSTRALIA

The colony of New South Wales

The colony of New South Wales started in January 1788 when Governor Arthur Phillip landed 700 convicts and their military guard at Sydney Cove on the fine harbour of Port Jackson. The convicts were set to work to build roads, huts and barracks. Phillip soon realized that a successful colony could not be pioneered by convicts and urged the British government to send out free settlers who by farming the land could make the colony self-sufficient in food. A few settlers were attracted by trading and farming possibilities; some of the officers and men of the garrison settled there when their military service ended, but there was no large-scale emigration of free settlers until after 1820. For the first thirty years New South Wales was predominantly a convict colony over which the Governor ruled with an iron hand; the garrison of the New South Wales Corps kept order and its officers engaged in a discreditable private trade in stores and rum. But it was one of these officers, Captain John Macarthur, who laid the foundations of Australian wool production; between 1794 and 1806 he was experimenting with sheep farming and breeding, introducing the Spanish merino type of sheep which flourished in the dry climate of Australia and gave a long stapled wool suitable for the

Australia

manufacture of fine cloth. There was ample land for these sheep; the crossing of the Blue Mountain Range by Gregory Blaxland in 1812 revealed vast plains. By 1830 3,000,000 acres had been granted to sheep farmers.

The convict system

After 1815 convicts were sent out from Great Britain at the rate of some three or four thousand a year. They were sentenced either to seven years' transportation, fourteen years, or for life. Very few of the convicts returned to Great Britain after serving their sentences; the cost of the passage back was beyond the means of most of them and few of them had any desire to return. The background of these convicts differed. Some came from the steadily growing urban areas of Great Britain; others were farm labourers from the countryside who had committed the crimes for which they were transported out of desperate poverty. There were a few convicts from the middle classes, often educated men who had been transported for forgery or embezzlement. Finally there were some political offenders, such as those convicted of rebellion against the British government in Ireland.

On arrival at the colony some convicts were placed in the government labour force, which meant roadmaking, farming, building barracks and ports. Others, usually of better education and behaviour, were assigned to free settlers who could use their labour. The treatment the assigned convicts received varied: sometimes they were lucky and had a master who treated them well, while others suffered under harsh taskmasters who extracted the last ounce of work out of them by flogging. The worst convicts and those who committed further crimes after their arrival were sent to hard labour in chain gangs making roads under military supervision, or to the punishment camps at Moreton Bay, or on Norfolk Island.

The convicts regained their liberty in various ways. One was by serving the term of years to which they had been sentenced. Another was the granting of tickets of leave, which exempted convicts from government service, though those on ticket of leave could be recalled. Finally there was the grant of pardon, either

Australia and New Zealand

conditional or absolute. If an absolute pardon was granted to a convict it meant that he was entirely free in every respect. When a conditional pardon was granted, he was free in every respect except that he could not return to Great Britain. Of these former convicts a few prospered and became wealthy landowners, but most of them were not so fortunate and found it difficult to make good. After 1830 the bad features of the convict system were increasingly realized both in Great Britain and Australia and a movement for its abolition steadily grew. All that could be said in its favour was that it had made the start of a colony in Australia possible and laid the foundation for development later by free settlers.

1820-50: decisive years

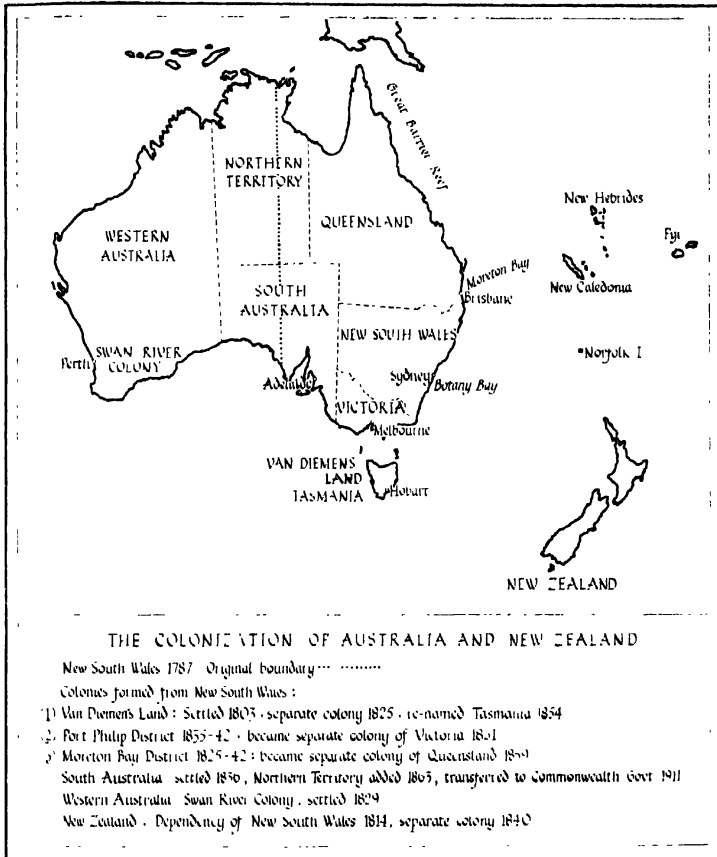
The period from 1820 to 1850 was decisive in Australian history. It witnessed the arrival of free immigrants in numbers, exploration of the interior, the foundation of new colonies and the shaping of an economy based largely on sheep farming. This last development was helped by the growth of the British woollen textile industry whose mills required increasing quantities of wool. In 1815 New South Wales had sent trifling quantities to Britain, but by 1850 the export of wool had reached 40 million pounds weight. During these years much important exploration of the interior took place.

In 1829 Captain Sturt discovered the river system of south-east Australia, sailing down its chief river which he named the Murray. From Adelaide in South Australia E. J. Eyre went north into the central desert of Australia and on a second journey westwards along the shores of the Australian Bight (1841). In 1844 Captain Sturt explored the country north-east from Adelaide, only to find as Eyre had done that it was barren desert. Leichardt between 1842 and 1848 made three journeys from New South Wales through Queensland to the Gulf of Carpentaria.

The colony of Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania)

This island, originally part of the colony of New South Wales, was made a separate colony in 1825. In its early years it was a penal colony with the worst kind of desperate convict. Some of these escaped to become 'bushrangers' who raided the sheep runs and

Australia



MAP 9. THE COLONIZATION OF AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

farms of the free settlers until rounded up by the stern measures of Governor Arthur. The convict system was ended in 1853; the colony took the name of Tasmania, and became self-governing in 1856.

Swan River Colony (Western Australia)

In 1829 a settlement, known as the Swan River Colony, was made on the west coast of Australia. A naval officer, James Stirling, was the moving force behind this settlement. Growth was slow, partly because of lack of proper planning and partly because most of the

Australia and New Zealand

emigrants from Britain were attracted to New South Wales or South Australia. Twenty years after its foundation there were no more than five thousand settlers, and to increase its population and labour supply the colony in 1849 agreed to receive convicts and continued to do so until 1868.

South Australia, 1836

The foundation and settlement of this colony was influenced by the ideas of the colonial reformer, Edward Gibbon Wakefield, who emphasized the need for systematic colonization (see chapter 11). The colony started in 1836 with a settlement at Adelaide. There was no shortage of settlers, but the early years of the colony were unsatisfactory owing to disputes over land grants and because many of the emigrants were living in Adelaide at the expense of the government. This expense ruined the finances of the infant colony, but the situation improved after 1841 when Captain George Grey was appointed Governor. As there was now sufficient land under cultivation to provide a food supply he stopped the issue of free rations, which had the effect of driving the incoming settlers on to the land. By 1850 there were over 50,000 settlers and the colony began to flourish. It had attracted settlers of the best class who sought freedom, the improvement of their prospects and who were prepared to work hard to attain this. South Australia from the start was a free colony and did not admit convicts.

The colony of Victoria

The beginnings of the colony of Victoria were made in the 1830's by settlers from New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land who brought in sheep and cattle to the wide plains around Port Phillip. The government of New South Wales took control of this unofficial movement, authorizing land sales and giving the colony a capital at Melbourne (1842). By 1851, when the colony was given a separate existence, it was firmly established with some 80,000 settlers; in the next ten years its growth was revolutionized by the discovery in 1851 of gold at Ballarat and Bendigo. A mad rush to the gold fields followed from inside and outside the colony; a flood of emigrants from Europe arrived to raise the population of the colony

Australia

to over half a million by 1860. The 'Diggers' resented the licence fees they had to pay and their lack of votes; they threatened armed resistance in defence of their rights at Eureka Stockade, which was stormed by troops and police in December 1854. The agitation died down when a more democratic constitution was introduced in 1855 and the licence fees were abolished.

The end of the convict system

The increasing number of free settlers led to demands for self-government such as had been granted to Canada but it was necessary that the convict system should be ended before this could be granted. Majority opinion both in Great Britain and Australia was now against the transportation of convicts. In 1837 a Parliamentary Committee condemned the system, emphasizing its degrading effects and its bad influence on the tone of public life in the Australian colonies. Their report led to the abolition of transportation; after 1840 New South Wales took no more convicts; Van Diemen's Land did so until 1853, while Western Australia, short of labour, admitted them from 1849 to 1868.

The advance to self-government, 1850-6

As a result of the abolition of the system more representative forms of government appeared. In 1842 New South Wales was granted a Legislative Council of 36 members, 12 nominated by the Crown and 24 elected. This did not satisfy the democratic demands of the growing populations in the Australian colonies. In 1850 the British Parliament passed the Australian Colonies Government Act. It recognized the separate existence of the colony of Victoria formed out of New South Wales and gave it, together with South Australia and Van Diemen's Land, the kind of government given to New South Wales in 1842. The Act also gave all four colonies power to draw up for themselves new constitutions which would be submitted to the British Parliament for enactment. By 1856 all four colonies had received constitutions which gave them responsible self-government. When in 1859 a new colony, Queensland, was formed out of the northern part of New South Wales, it was given responsible government from the start. Western Australia, whose

Australia and New Zealand

development was slower than the others, finally attained responsible government in 1890.

Development under self-government

The grant of self-government to the Australian colonies enabled them to develop each in its own particular way, but with certain common features in this development. Political attitudes in all the States were more democratic than in Great Britain, and soon led to measures such as those demanded by the Chartists during the 1840's, for example, vote by ballot, universal manhood suffrage and payment of M.P.'s. An Australian society emerged which gave greater opportunity to the common man than in Great Britain at this time. Labour was strongly organized in trade unions which were under less restrictions than their counterparts in Great Britain. The right of workers to a basic minimum wage was recognized; labour laws, wage boards and arbitration courts were set up in some States before 1900. Free and compulsory primary education was provided in Victoria some years earlier than in Great Britain.

Land policy became a dominant issue in all the States during this period, because of the demand of newly arrived immigrants for right of access to the vacant or unimproved lands, much of which was held under leases from the Crown by the squatter-graziers, some of whose sheep runs totalled hundreds of thousands of acres. Attempts were made especially in New South Wales to break the squatters' monopoly by laws which gave any citizen the right to select vacant land up to 320 acres on payment of 5s. an acre, and to break up the sheep runs for closer settlement when the squatters' leases ended and the land reverted to the Crown. This 'free selection' policy led to the establishment of small farms growing crops such as wheat as distinct from grazing sheep, but it was partly defeated by the squatters who put in their own nominees as 'dummy' selectors of the best parts of the sheep runs.

At a time when Great Britain was dedicated to free trade the Australian colonies, New South Wales excepted, adopted protective tariffs. Victoria took the lead in this in the 1860's and 1870's, levying duties to protect her infant manufacturing industries; her

Australia

aim was to set up a balanced economy and to protect her workers against cheap imports from more industrially advanced countries such as Great Britain; only thus could full employment and high wages be maintained. Duties against imports from outside and also a customs barrier between the States inside Australia were displeasing to Great Britain who wanted free trade everywhere. Cheap imports were not the only threat to Australian labour: they saw their living standards undermined, especially in Queensland, by the Kanaka labourers imported from the Polynesian islands such as Fiji and Tonga. The Australian Labour party demanded a 'White Australia' policy which would exclude Asians and Polynesians from the continent.

Federation: the Commonwealth of Australia, 1901

Federal union for the Australian colonies had been proposed by the Colonial Secretary Earl Grey in 1847, and the draft of the Australian Colonies Government Bill of 1849-50 included provision for this. There was general lack of enthusiasm for the proposal and the federation movement remained relatively inactive until after 1880. It had to fight against inter-State jealousies, conflicting economic interests and the absence, at this time, of a sense of common nationhood; thus the Australian colonies built railways of different gauges and set up tariff barriers against each other. It was German and French colonial claims on South Pacific islands such as New Guinea and the New Hebrides which made Australians move towards a union primarily for defence. An indication of the trend was the formation of a federal council for external affairs (not joined by New South Wales and New Zealand) in 1883-5, but its powers and authority were very limited. After the Colonial Conference of 1887 the Australian colonies agreed to pay part of the cost of a British naval squadron in the Pacific. New South Wales had kept aloof from the federal movement but her Prime Minister, Sir Henry Parkes, realizing that defence must come before his State's prestige or free trade, reversed this policy and due to his efforts a convention met at Sydney in 1891 to discuss and draft a federal constitution. It took the next eight years to get the proposals accepted by the States:

Australia and New Zealand

Victoria, Tasmania and South Australia were strongly pro-federation; New South Wales was evenly divided; Queensland and Western Australia were decidedly reluctant. The matter had to be referred twice to the voters in the various States before agreement was reached. In July 1900 the Commonwealth of Australia Act was enacted by the British Parliament and under its authority the Commonwealth of Australia was proclaimed and came into existence on 1 January 1901.

The six States named above joined the federation; New Zealand was offered membership but declined. The Federal Parliament today consists of the Queen, the Senate and the House of Representatives and sits at the Federal capital, Canberra, situated in territory ceded by New South Wales to the Commonwealth. The Queen is represented by a Governor-General who is appointed on the advice of her Australian ministers. The constitution, like that of the U.S.A., is sympathetic towards the rights of the States. The Commonwealth powers are specified in some forty matters, the most important being defence, foreign affairs, trade, taxation, immigration and emigration; all remaining powers belong to the State governments. The States have their own structures of government, viz. parliaments, ministers, courts and judges, but if any State legislature passes a law which is inconsistent with Commonwealth law, the latter will prevail.

2. NEW ZEALAND

First contacts

The Dutch had discovered New Zealand in the seventeenth century, but it was Captain Cook on his first voyage in 1769 who had accurately charted the two islands. Cook had named it as a British possession but the British government did not support this claim. In the early years of the nineteenth century New South Wales began to take an interest in New Zealand; traders, escaped convicts, whalers and missionaries were already established there, and in 1813 Governor Macquarie of New South Wales proclaimed that the two islands were under British protection. This enabled some control to be exercised over British ships which visited these islands to take in wood and water and to trade with the Maori

New Zealand

inhabitants. The position remained unsatisfactory for the next twenty-five years, because of the treatment of the Maoris by the traders and crews of whaling ships; the Maoris often retaliated by massacring isolated parties of Europeans whenever the opportunity occurred. The missionaries were alarmed by the situation, and particularly by the trade carried on with the Maoris by foreign traders, who sold them muskets with which they began to carry on tribal warfare in the islands. The Church Missionary Society, which had influential support in high quarters at home, was opposed to the idea of colonization but at the same time wished to see some authority established in the island, if only to control the unsatisfactory traders and unofficial settlers.

The Treaty of Waitangi, 1840

The British government was faced with the need for action, not only to protect the Maoris but also to control the settlers. It was also under pressure from the various companies formed to colonize New Zealand, and also alarmed by the report that French companies intended to colonize these islands. In 1839 the British government placed New Zealand under the control of the government of New South Wales. In 1840 it sent Captain William Hobson to treat with the Maori chiefs for the cession of sovereignty to the British Crown.

In February 1840 Hobson concluded with the Maori chiefs of North Island the Treaty of Waitangi. The terms were:

(1) The Maori chiefs ceded all sovereignty over their lands to the Queen of England.

(2) The Queen of England confirmed and guaranteed to the chiefs and tribes their lands and estates, forests and fisheries with the stipulation, however, that if the Maoris wished to sell their land, then the Crown should have the first right to purchase it.

(3) The Queen placed all the natives of New Zealand under her protection and gave them the rights and privileges of British subjects.

Hobson signed this treaty on behalf of the Crown; forty-six of the greater Maori chiefs, in the presence of numerous lesser chiefs, did the same. This treaty, which on paper appeared to secure the rights of the Maoris, gave rise to endless trouble for the next half

Australia and New Zealand

century, because the settlers found that the terms of the treaty interfered to a great extent with the buying of Maori lands. In May and June 1840 Hobson proclaimed British sovereignty over North and South Islands respectively. In August 1840 the British Parliament set up New Zealand as a separate colony by Act of Parliament. It was given a Legislative Council consisting of the Governor and at least six other members nominated by the Secretary of State while the Governor and his three chief officials constituted the Executive Council.

Early settlement in North Island

The New Zealand Company had been chartered in February 1841 and started to place settlers in the North Island. Conflict with the Maoris soon started and also with the government because of the policy laid down in the Treaty of Waitangi. What irritated the settlers most was that the government, by the treaty, had the right of first purchase of any land the Maoris wished to sell, but the government, having no money, purchased no land. Meanwhile the settlers wanted to buy land from the Maoris who in many cases were willing to sell. Under Governor Fitzroy, 1842-5, a start was made with the policy of the Crown relaxing its rights of first purchase and allowing the settlers to buy direct from the natives. Even this concession did not satisfy the settlers, who complained of the high fees they had to pay to the government on land sales. In addition the Maoris in the North Island had attacked and destroyed some of the first settlements. A further point arose as to whether the Treaty of Waitangi had applied to all lands in New Zealand including those which were waste or wild lands and not occupied by the Maoris. It was realized that a mistake had been made in drafting the treaty and that these unoccupied lands should have been excluded from its operation.

Governor George Grey, 1845-53

The British government wished to enforce the terms of the treaty and in 1845 Fitzroy was recalled and Governor George Grey took his place. A new era opened in the history of British New Zealand because Grey was an able man and took the greatest pains to secure

New Zealand

the welfare of the Maoris, whose language and customs he studied. He had done well in South Australia where he had saved that colony from ruin. Grey had first to restore order and to repress those Maori rebels who had destroyed the early settlements. He prohibited the importation of arms and gunpowder which had caused much trouble since these, in Maori hands, had been used against the settlers. Grey brought the land question under partial control by making it unlawful for settlers to buy land from Maoris without licence first obtained from the government under certain specified conditions. Those who disobeyed were subject to summary fines.

The land problem was helped by the fact that there were very few Maoris in the South Island compared with their numbers in the North Island. Grey therefore bought out the land rights of the Maoris in South Island, thus making available for settlement large areas of land. The settlement of South Island was carried out between 1848 and 1852 by religious groups inspired by the ideas of the systematic colonizer Edward Gibbon Wakefield. Scottish Presbyterians settled Dunedin in 1848; Christchurch, a little further north, was settled in 1850 by the Canterbury Association organized by the Church of England. At first progress was slow but by 1860 both settlements were firmly established.

During his first governorship, which lasted from 1845 to 1853, Sir George Grey did much to promote the welfare of the Maoris. In 1846 he set up resident magistrates' courts to promote law and order among the Maoris and to help the Maoris obtain justice in cases of dispute with Europeans. The resident magistrate was assisted by two Maori assessors—one chosen by each of the parties, when cases of a civil nature were being tried. If Maoris had suffered criminal wrong from Europeans, Grey required the Attorney-General and the Law Officers of the Crown to prosecute on behalf of the injured natives. At the Supreme Court which heard civil cases four times a year, provision was made for the engagement of a lawyer as standing counsel for Maoris. In pursuance of his establishment of law and order among the Maoris, Grey, in 1846, established an armed constabulary force in which both Maoris and Europeans served. This was very successful and

Australia and New Zealand

the Maoris who were enrolled as constables performed their duties with complete success. Maori education was helped by government grants to schools set up by the various missionary bodies.

Constitutional development, 1852-6

New Zealand quickly advanced from the Crown Colony type of government with which it had started. In 1852 the New Zealand Constitution Act introduced a new type of government, federal in character. New Zealand was divided into six provinces, with elected provincial councils having legislative power. At the centre there was a General Assembly of two Houses, the upper nominated and the lower elected. When the first Assembly met in 1854, it demanded responsible government such as Canada had. This was granted in 1856 apart from control of Maori affairs, which the imperial government retained for some years. By 1875 improved communications and an increasing sense of unity led to the abandonment of the federal principle and the abolition of the provincial councils. The government became unitary and local government was provided by elected county councils.

Sir George Grey, 1861-7: the Maori Wars

In 1861 Sir George Grey returned to New Zealand for a second term of office as Governor. He was faced with a more difficult situation than during his first governorship. The rapidly rising white population led to pressure on the vacant lands, while the Maoris banded together in a nationalist movement to defend their lands, their separate culture and customs. Grey no longer had the ample powers of a Crown Colony Governor but had to work, under responsible government, with a ministry with whose policy towards the Maoris he disagreed. For twelve years (1860-72) military operations were conducted against the defiant Maoris who, entrenched in their stockaded strongholds, were difficult to defeat, and who proved to be an elusive enemy. Fortunately in the last quarter of the nineteenth century a more sensible and generous policy towards the Maoris was started; they were given a fair share of the land, fair prices when they sold and the rights of citizenship. Their numbers which had declined in the nineteenth century

New Zealand

recovered in the twentieth, and at the present time the Maori population is increasing at a faster rate than that of the white New Zealanders.

Economic and social development

The economic prosperity of New Zealand depended largely on the production of primary commodities from her agriculture. From an early stage she became a wool producer on a considerable scale. When refrigeration was developed towards the end of the nineteenth century, markets became open to her in Great Britain and a flourishing export trade developed in meat, butter, and cheese. New Zealand is an interesting example of a small country with a high standard of living, which from 1890 onwards has systematically carried out many interesting social and economic experiments, sponsored by the State. In the 1890's an ambitious plan for purchase of land by the State, to lease on easy terms to small farmers, was carried out. Within ten years, the number of small farmers had been increased by 20,000. Trade unions were encouraged by the government from an early date, and also compulsory arbitration of industrial disputes. New Zealand, in many respects, is an early example of the Welfare State. Old age pensions were introduced some years earlier than in Great Britain. New Zealand was also one of the first countries to give the vote to women, doing this in 1893.

GREAT BRITAIN AND SOUTHERN AFRICA, 1815-1910

THE ANNEXATION OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE

During the wars against the French Revolution and Napoleon the Cape of Good Hope had been occupied by the British, and when peace was made in 1815 the Dutch ceded it to Great Britain. The British concern was with the Cape as a naval base and half-way house to the Indian Ocean, but besides this they took over the Boer population, some twenty-five thousand in number, descendants of the Dutch soldiers and officials who had been employed by the Dutch East India Company. There were two main groups of Boers: those who lived in Cape Town and the immediate neighbourhood and the 'trek' Boers of the interior and the frontiers of the colony. It was these 'trek' Boers who were to cause the British so much trouble later on; they were fiercely independent in spirit and disliked interference by any outside authority such as the Governor at Cape Town.

THE FRONTIER BOERS

The frontier Boers were essentially pastoralist farmers; their pride was in their horses and cattle, rather than in sheep. They had large farms: six thousand acres was their idea of a proper-sized farm. Of this large expanse they cultivated a few acres for mealies and a little tobacco, but most of the farm was given over to grazing, and over it ranged their herds of cattle. To a considerable extent the Boer farmers of the veldt were creatures of solitude: they liked the freedom, and the leisurely life of the great open spaces, although they were friendly enough at times with their relations and neighbours. For defence against the Bantu peoples on the eastern

The Frontier Boers

frontier they organized themselves in 'commandos' in which all able-bodied men served when needed. Affairs of local government were dealt with at the 'Kerkraad' or Church session. The Boers were a sincerely religious people with a faith that was based on a rather narrow interpretation of the Bible and particularly of the Old Testament. They looked on themselves as a chosen people, rather like the children of Israel in the Old Testament. In fact there was some similarity, of family groups and cattle, moving over the countryside with hostile natives around them.

It was not long before the hostility of these frontier Boers was aroused by the changes made by their new rulers. In particular they distrusted the attitude of the British towards the African peoples whether Hottentot or Bantus. The humanitarian movement had influenced British rule towards treating the native peoples on a footing of greater equality. Now to the Boers this was not understandable: they had always regarded the native peoples as mere hewers of wood and drawers of water, and as the natural servants of the white peoples. They therefore resented the many criticisms made of their treatment of the natives by the English missionaries and they were offended by the decision of the British government that the evidence of a Hottentot against his master should be accepted by a law court. The Boers also objected to the missionaries because of the 'reserves' of land they had been granted and which the Boers thought their own by right; furthermore, these reserves led to a shortage of native labour. But the British missionaries were influential in Whitehall and could put pressure on the Governor of the Cape to make the reluctant Boers comply with the new laws regarding the treatment of native peoples. When slavery in the British empire was abolished in 1833, the measure was naturally unpopular with the Boers; there was also trouble over the compensation money for their slaves which was paid in London. For most Boers it was impossible for them to go to London and they therefore had to sell their claims to brokers or speculators, usually at a loss.

Great Britain and Southern Africa, 1815-1910

THE GREAT TREK

It is sometimes said that the abolition of slavery in 1833 was the reason for the Great Trek but this is rather doubtful. The freeing of the slaves was resented but it seems clear that before this the frontier Boers had become restless and wanted to move away from the much-disliked British rule. There was also the increase in population which made it necessary to find new farms elsewhere. The Boers knew that there was ample land beyond the boundaries of Cape Colony. Reconnaissance journeys and hunters' expeditions had brought back glowing accounts of good land with ample water and teeming with game. The decision to leave Cape Colony was made sometime in the year 1834 or 1835. The Boer farmers sold their farms, and moved off with their wives, children, cattle and servants. The trekking parties were often made up of related families who chose one of their number as leader. Some of the groups were several hundreds strong; others were much smaller. The women, children, and household goods travelled in the trek wagons drawn by teams of six to eight or sometimes ten oxen. These wagons could move at about two or three miles an hour and twenty or thirty miles would be possible in a day. At night a laager or camp was formed by outspanning the oxen, placing the wagons in a circle within which were the women and children. Should the laager be attacked by the Bantu Matabele or Zulus it could be defended from behind the protection given by the wagons.

The Great Trek started in 1836 and went on for some twelve years or more. The British government did not like its Boer subjects trekking away from the colony; it was humiliating for it to be treated thus. They did what they could to prevent the trek taking place, but it was very difficult to control this movement in such a large country. In 1837 parties of trekkers moved out of the north-east frontier areas of Cape Colony, across the Orange river and on to the mountains of Basutoland. From there one group under Hendrik Potgieter went northwards across the Vaal river while another larger group led by Piet Retief turned eastwards towards the Drakensberg mountains. Descending the eastward slopes brought

The Great Trek

the trekkers into the fertile land of Natal. Their leader, Piet Retief, went to negotiate with the Zulu king Dingaan. The first time he was received in friendly fashion, but on the second occasion Dingaan treacherously murdered Retief and his sixty-nine Boer companions. The situation was retrieved by the good fighting qualities of the Boers who under Andries Pretorius defeated the Zulus at the battle of Blood river in 1838.

THE TREKKERS IN NATAL, 1838-43

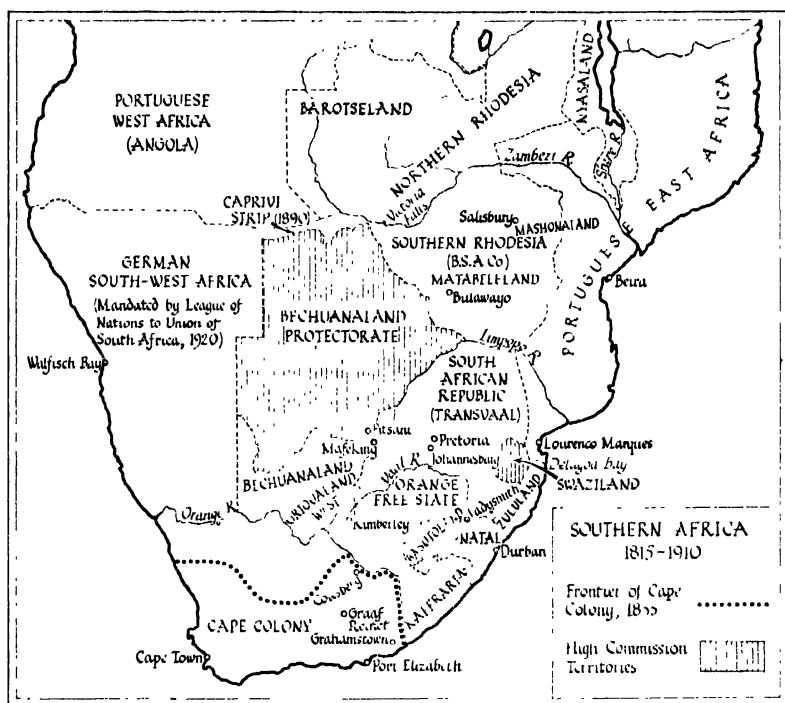
After this success the Natal Republic was set up. An assembly was called and made grants of land to all who had taken part in the trek and who had defended it against the Zulus. These events in Natal were unwelcome to the British government who now had second thoughts about letting the Boers settle there. Not only was there a risk of a clash with the Bantu peoples in this land, but the British government was reluctant to let Natal slip into unfriendly hands. It was situated on the Indian Ocean and consequently on the route to India. Furthermore, coal had been discovered there and this was important now that the age of the steamship had arrived.

In 1842 the British government sent troops to Port Natal with the aim of protecting the local tribes from Boer interference. The Natal Boers resented this intervention and the proclamation of 1843 which made Natal a British Colony under the supervision of Cape Colony. It was a bitter blow for them to see their land of promise, Natal, coming under control of the very power they had moved away from. Their answer was to abandon their new-found homes and to trek away back over the Drakensberg, some into the Orange Free State and more northwards across the river Vaal, where they founded several farmer republics. After a few years these were united into one, the South African Republic, more generally known as the Transvaal Republic.

THE ORANGE RIVER SOVEREIGNTY, 1848

During the next few years down to 1848 the British government's policy towards the trekkers varied. At one moment they wished

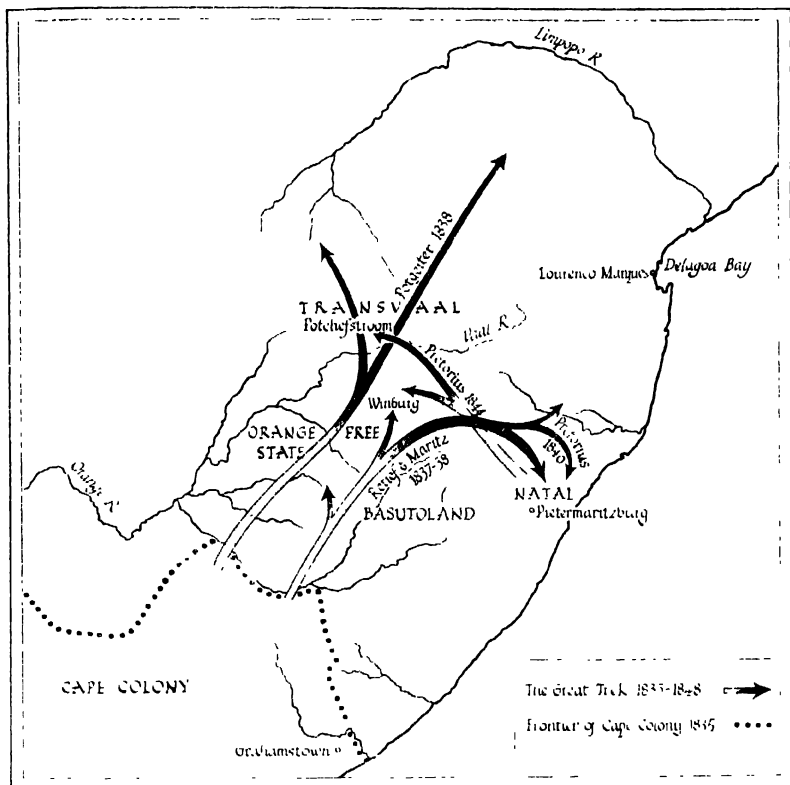
Great Britain and Southern Africa, 1815-1910



MAP IO. (a) SOUTHERN AFRICA, 1815-1910

to try and stop them, at another they were prepared to wash their hands of it all and let them go. The expense and trouble of restraining them seemed too great and to many people did not seem worth it. On the other hand beyond the Orange river there were native kingdoms such as Basutoland where British missionaries were active and who might now suffer interference from the trekkers. Finally in 1848 the new Governor of Cape Colony, Sir Harry Smith, proclaimed British sovereignty over the district between the Orange river and the Vaal river. Here a number of trekkers had settled and many of them agreed with the British declaration of sovereignty, but opposition arose from another section under the leadership of Andries Pretorius. Aided by the Transvaal Boers he tried to drive the British out but was defeated at Boomplatz (August 1848).

British Recognition of the Trekker Republics, 1852-4



MAP 10. (b) THE GREAT TREK

BRITISH RECOGNITION OF THE TREKKER REPUBLICS, 1852-4

The British government now reversed its forward policy: it was alarmed by these expensive frontier wars with the Bantus in Kaffraria, the Basutos and the obstinate trekkers. It decided to limit its commitments in South Africa. In January 1852 it signed the Sand River Convention which gave independence to the trek-Boers beyond the river Vaal. In return they agreed to prohibit slavery and to allow British subjects free access for purposes of trade. In February 1854, by the Convention of Bloemfontein, Great Britain renounced her sovereignty over the Orange river

Great Britain and Southern Africa, 1815-1910

territories, thus giving independence to the Boers within these lands on the same terms as those given to the Transvaal republics.

ANGLO-BOER RELATIONS, 1854-68

For the next fifteen years Briton and Boer went their separate ways in South Africa. Cape Colony profited from the energetic rule (1854-9) of Governor Sir George Grey, who had already shown his qualities in New Zealand. He did all in his power to pacify British Kaffraria and its Bantu peoples in the land between Cape Colony and Natal. In Cape Colony he encouraged emigration, the building of railways and the founding of schools. Friendly relations were maintained with the Orange Free State Boers, so much so that with their consent he proposed a federal union, but the British government rejected this and recalled Grey (1859). But nine years later the Free State Boers were offended by the British proclamation of a protectorate over Basutoland (1868). This was done in the interests of peace and the Basuto people who had so irritated the Boers by their cattle raids that if the British had not intervened the Boers would have annexed Basutoland.

DISCOVERY OF DIAMONDS, 1867-9

In 1867-9 a diamond field was discovered in Griqualand West which bordered the western part of the Orange Free State. Their frontier here had not been marked out, but the Orange Free State claimed that the diamond field lay within its territory. The British disregarded this claim and in 1871 annexed Griqualand West to Cape Colony and in 1873 constituted it a separate Crown Colony; the Free Staters, not without reason, felt they had been cheated. The Transvaal Boers were also indignant at the result of arbitration of their disputed western frontier; the Keate Award gave this to independent tribes, thus keeping the Boers off the 'Missionaries Road' to the north. In both cases the Boers felt that the British had wrongly interfered with the independence given them by the Sand River and Bloemfontein Conventions. Unfortunately, other events followed which led to increasingly bad relations between the British and Boers.

Discovery of Diamonds, 1867-9

THE ANNEXATION OF THE TRANSVAAL, 1877

Lord Carnarvon, Colonial Secretary in the Disraeli ministry of 1874-80, revived the idea of a federation of South Africa, believing that such a union would give strength to deal with the troublesome local problems of the warlike Bantus, and the lawless mining communities, and might well save the British government much expense. There was little enthusiasm for this plan in the Orange Free State and Cape Colony but Carnarvon persisted. Sir Theophilus Shepstone, for many years Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal, was sent to Pretoria, the capital of the Transvaal. Here he found a republic not only bankrupt but lacking unity and competent officials. In April 1877 he declared the Transvaal Republic annexed to the British empire; there was little enthusiasm for this from the Boers but for the moment no outward opposition.

THE ZULU WAR, 1879

These first steps towards a union of South Africa soon brought difficulties. Boundary disputes between the Boers and the Zulus led the British High Commissioner, Sir Bartle Frere, to award the disputed land to the Zulus on condition that their ruler, Cetewayo, should disband his army of 30,000 well-disciplined warriors and receive a British Resident. When Cetewayo ignored these demands, Zululand was invaded (January 1879). At Isandhlwana a British force was surprised and heavily attacked; it held off the Zulus for a time but was finally massacred because it could not distribute its reserve ammunition quickly enough. Natal was saved from invasion by the heroic defence of Rorke's Drift on the Tugela river by a small British detachment. A recovery came in June 1879 with the complete defeat of the Zulus at Ulundi. Cetewayo was deposed and the Zulu military power broken up.

Great Britain and Southern Africa, 1815-1910

MAJUBA HILL AND THE CONVENTION OF PRETORIA, 1881

The Transvaal Boers increasingly regretted the loss of their independence, and had not been given the self-government which had been promised. When a Liberal government took office in 1880 their hopes revived because the Prime Minister, Gladstone, had denounced Conservative policy in South Africa and was known to be sympathetic to the claims of small nations to rule themselves. But independence was not restored to the Transvaal Boers who then decided to fight for it. In February 1881 they routed a small British force under the High Commissioner, General Sir George Colley, which had occupied the summit of Majuba Hill, commanding a pass through the Drakensberg mountains into Natal. Hostilities ceased and by the Convention of Pretoria (August 1881) the Transvaal recovered its independence; 'subject to the suzerainty of Her Majesty', a vague claim of sovereignty which irritated the Boers; other restrictions were also imposed, for example, the Republic must conduct its foreign relations through Great Britain. The London Convention of February 1884 modified that of Pretoria in favour of the Boers by omitting the 'suzerainty' clause but kept most of the other restrictions. Relations between Britain and Boers remained unsatisfactory, with the Boers suspicious of British policy and influence which try as they would they could not shake off. In 1882 Boer trekkers had set up two small farmer republics, Stellaland and Goshen, in the area known as the 'Missionaries Road' to the west of the Transvaal. Britain, alarmed by the German colony which had been proclaimed in South-west Africa in 1884 and concerned for African and missionary interests, annexed Stellaland and Goshen in 1885 and made them into the Crown Colony of British Bechuanaland.

CECIL RHODES AND HIS AIMS

The last fifteen years of the nineteenth century in South Africa were dominated by two sharply contrasted characters, Cecil John Rhodes (1853-1902) and Paul Kruger (1825-1904), President of the South African (Transvaal) Republic.

Cecil Rhodes and his Aims

As a young man Rhodes had arrived in Natal in 1870 in search of health and wealth. In 1871 he moved to the Kimberley diamond field where he built up a fortune and became the moving force behind the formation of De Beers Company which steadily bought out its rivals until by 1888 it had established a monopoly in the production and sale of diamonds. From diamonds Rhodes turned to the newly discovered goldfield in the Transvaal at Johannesburg where he founded the Consolidated Goldfields Company in 1887. By 1890 his income from diamonds and gold was said to be well over £1 million a year. But with Rhodes wealth was a means to an end—to attain political power and to influence the course of history. His aims were far reaching. He believed in the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon English-speaking peoples and the importance of their mission in world history: the more of the world they inhabited and controlled the more would the peace and welfare of mankind be advanced. In Africa he planned a federation of territories under the British flag, all members of a customs union, stretching in a corridor from the Cape to Cairo, and linked by a railway and telegraph. Cape Colony would be the start of this federation, to which must be added the Boer republics. But Kruger would have none of it: he saw the plan of Rhodes as a plot to rob his people of their land and independence.

THE BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY

Rhodes was in a hurry: he feared German designs on Portuguese West and East Africa which might close the route to the north. Beyond the Bechuanaland Protectorate and between the rivers Limpopo and Zambezi lay a vast country inhabited by the Matabele, a warlike Bantu people. In 1888 Rhodes obtained from their ruler, Lobengula, a mining concession, and in 1890 the Chartered British South Africa Company was founded to work the concession, to improve communications and to promote trade. By the end of 1890 a pioneer force had founded Fort Salisbury in Mashonaland. The purchase by the Company in 1891 of a land concession Lobengula had rashly granted to a Boer, Lippert, gave them the rather doubtful right of opening 'Charterland' to British

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and Boer settlers. In protest against this invasion of their land the Matabele warriors raided Mashonaland; Dr Starr Jameson, the Company's Administrator at Salisbury, led a force against Bulawayo, Lobengula's stronghold. The Matabele were defeated and the Chartered Company had removed its most dangerous enemy. Their progress was watched with disquiet by Kruger and the Transvaalers who saw themselves being encircled by the British and shut off from new trek lands to the north.

PRESIDENT KRUGER AND THE 'UITLANDERS'

As a young boy Kruger had taken part in the Great Trek; he embodied all the qualities of the Voortrekkers, their fierce independence, their sense of being a race apart and their tenacious obstinacy. Kruger's aim of maintaining Afrikaner independence, nationality and culture, was greatly helped by the wealth that flowed into the Transvaal treasury from the new-found gold mines of the Rand. A monopoly which sold dynamite at high prices, high railway freight charges and customs duties raised the Republic's revenue to £1,500,000 in 1889, a far cry from the poverty-stricken days of 1877 when Shepstone had found but 12s. 5d. in the treasury at Pretoria. Most of this taxation was paid by the mining community of the Rand known to the Boers as 'Uitlanders', or 'foreigners', but they had no vote or say in their government. Kruger was determined to keep all political power for the Afrikaner alone; if the Uitlanders should rebel he had well-armed commandos to crush them.

THE JAMESON RAID AND ITS RESULTS

In 1895 the discontented Uitlanders of Johannesburg planned a rising to overthrow Kruger's government. Rhodes was ready to help them and a force of Chartered Company police under Dr Jameson was assembled at Pitsani near Mafeking to enter the Transvaal when the rising took place. At Johannesburg the Uitlanders could not agree and postponed the rising. On 29 December 1895 Jameson invaded the Transvaal, thus forcing the

The Jameson Raid and its Results

Uitlanders to rise, but the raiders never reached Johannesburg as they were rounded up by the Boer commandos at Doornkop, forty miles away. The Uitlanders in Johannesburg were forced to surrender and their leading members were tried and convicted by the Boers; the death sentences and imprisonment were later commuted for heavy fines. Dr Jameson and some of his officers, tried in London on charges under the Foreign Enlistment Act of 1870, were sentenced to two years' imprisonment. The reputation of Rhodes was seriously harmed by the raid; it lost him the friendship of many Boers in Cape Colony where he had to resign his premiership. Worse still the raid confirmed Kruger's suspicions of the British, and the correctness of his policy towards the Uitlanders whose chances of political rights were not improved by this fiasco. In 1897 a parliamentary inquiry into the raid was held: it criticized Rhodes for his 'misconduct and duplicity' but made no comment about the part played by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Joseph Chamberlain. He had known about the plotting in Johannesburg, for this was an open secret, but his knowledge of the raid appeared less certain in 1897. Recent research supports the view that he knew a good deal about the whole matter.

In spite of the raid efforts to improve the condition of the Uitlanders continued and Sir Alfred Milner, who was appointed High Commissioner in 1897, worked hard to this end. Kruger proved as obstinate as ever but in 1899 under pressure he offered votes for the Uitlanders, asking in return that Great Britain should give up her 'suzerainty' over the Transvaal. This demand was unacceptable to Great Britain, who sent reinforcements to South Africa (September 1899). In October Kruger, with the support of the Orange Free State, demanded that reinforcement should stop; Britain sent a counter ultimatum and war started on 12 October 1899.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR, 1899-1902

In the first months of the war the Boers showed that they were formidable foes; they were well armed, good shots, fast moving and skilful in the use of ground and cover. Their main effort was to

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invade Natal where they reached the line of the Tugela river and besieged a large British force in Ladysmith. Kimberley and Mafeking on the western frontier of the Transvaal were also besieged, but these sieges immobilized men the Boers could have employed more profitably in field operations. Mistakes were also made by the British whose commander, Sir Redvers Buller, wasted his superiority in numbers by dividing his army corps of 30,000 men into three parts, all of which suffered defeat in the 'Black Week' of 9-15 December, at Magersfontein, Stormberg and Colenso respectively. These reverses roused British opinion; Lord Roberts was sent out with large reinforcements. His plan was to use his superiority in numbers in a unified attack from Cape Colony on Bloemfontein and Pretoria, the capitals of the two republics. The Boers withdrew from Natal and northern Cape Colony to meet this threat but could not stop the advance of Roberts who took Bloemfontein in March and Pretoria in June. But the Boers held on with immense courage and repeatedly attacked the right flank of Roberts' army; it was not till August 1900 that the last field battle took place. President Kruger went into exile; the two republics were annexed.

This, however, was not the end of the war. There were many Boers ready to fight to the bitter end for their independence. All through 1901 into the early months of 1902 small Boer commandos under able leaders such as de Wet, de la Rey, Botha and Jan Smuts carried on guerrilla warfare, striking at the British lines of communication in the Transvaal and Free State and raiding deep into Cape Colony. To round up these elusive opponents who had the support of their fellow countrymen and women in the farms scattered over the veldt was a difficult task. It was found possible to limit their movements by miles of barbed wire along the railways and to deny them supplies by a 'scorched earth' policy: farms whose occupants had committed hostile acts were burnt and the Boer women, children and African servants were removed to internment camps. At first conditions were bad, leading to many deaths from typhoid and pneumonia. Liberal opinion in Britain, already opposed to the war, denounced the camps and the authorities hastened to improve their organization. In May 1902 the war ended with the

The South African War, 1899-1902

Peace of Vereeniging; the two republics lost their independence and became Crown colonies, but were promised responsible government in the future. The British government gave £3,000,000 to restock and repair the Boer farms and granted a loan of £35 millions for developing roads, railways, forestry and irrigation schemes.

RECONSTRUCTION AND THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, 1910

The immediate post-war years were painful for the Boers with memories of defeat, quarrels amongst themselves and the presence of the victorious British. Better times came when Great Britain gave responsible government to the Transvaal in 1906 and to the Orange River Colony in 1907. Under leaders such as Botha, Smuts, de Wet and Hertzog the Afrikaner people, whose national consciousness had been strengthened by their recent experiences, found themselves once again in full control of their own affairs. The next step was towards the closer union urged in the past by Grey, Rhodes and Milner. In October 1908 delegates from the parliaments of the Cape, Natal, the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal met in a National Convention to draft a constitution. Legislative union under the Crown and not federation of the four colonies was agreed upon; the new State would be called the Union of South Africa. There was to be a Governor-General appointed by the Crown and an Executive Council (Cabinet) of ministers. Parliament comprised the Governor-General, a Senate and a House of Assembly; its sovereign powers of constitutional amendment were limited only in respect of the 'entrenched' clauses regarding the equality of English and Dutch as official languages and the franchise for non-Europeans in Cape Colony: to amend either of these required a two-thirds majority of a joint session of the Senate and House of Assembly. Apart from the Cape Coloured peoples the vote was given to the adult male European population only. Within the Union the four colonies became provinces, exercising such local government powers as were delegated to them by the Union government. Provision was made for Rhodesia to join the Union under certain conditions. In September 1909 the

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United Kingdom Parliament passed the draft bill without amendment although its attention had been drawn to the political colour-bar that it set up; the Union of South Africa started its separate existence in May 1910.

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BRITISH INDIA, 1784-1858

PITT'S INDIA ACT, 1784

The wish of the British government to control the activities of the Company was achieved by Pitt's India Act of 1784, which set up a Board of Control of six Privy Councillors. The Board exercised a general supervision over the civil and military government of the Company and its revenues; it approved, with power to modify or reject, all despatches of the directors relating to government and 'foreign' relations with the Indian princes. The directors were left with control of trade and appointments to their service in India and the East; they appointed the Governor-General but he could be recalled by the Crown if necessary. The authority of the Governor-General was much increased to prevent a repetition of the difficulties that Warren Hastings had experienced with his Council. The Governor-General now had power to override his Council and he could, if necessary, be Commander-in-Chief as well as Governor-General. This system lasted until the Mutiny of 1857 and the end of the East India Company in 1858. Although control was divided, the system worked well; it gave both Governor-General and Board of Control sufficient powers to prevent any repetition of the excesses and corruption that had marked the earlier period after the acquisition of Bengal.

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LORD CORNWALLIS, 1787-92

In 1787 the new Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, arrived. He was a man of common sense, integrity, incorruptible, and a capable administrator. His aim was sound government and peace rather than aggressive expansion of the Company's interests. He soon started that reform of administration demanded by British public opinion. There were three major problems: administration, collection of the revenue, and reform of justice. The problem of administration was concerned with the Company's servants and their organization for the various branches of government. Here it was essential to end once and for all the system of private trade, which had been forbidden, but was still carried on. Cornwallis prohibited the political members of the Company's service from private trade and as compensation persuaded the Company to pay them proper and generous salaries, but the Company's officials who were employed on the commercial side were allowed to keep the privilege of private trade till 1833 when the Company's monopoly of trade ended.

SETTLEMENT OF THE LAND REVENUE

The most difficult task of Cornwallis was to settle the revenue collection. India was mainly a land of agricultural communities and the land revenue was the principal source of public finance. Traditionally the peasant paid about one-third of his produce to the Zamindar who kept about a tenth for his expenses and remitted the rest to the government. In the British view the Zamindar resembled a landlord, but in reality he was an hereditary rent collector and magistrate. The great problem was to fix the amount of revenue to be paid each year. Various attempts had been made since the right of collection had been granted to the Company in 1765, but owing to lack of knowledge of the conditions in the countryside, these had not proved very successful. For example, famine might occur and make it impossible to collect the stated revenue. In 1789 a preliminary step was taken when a settlement for ten years was made but in 1793 a permanent settlement was

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made. By this the Zamindars were regarded as landowners and they became rent collectors for the Company while the British collectors were to act as protectors of the peasant cultivators or ryots. For a time the permanent settlement was not successful, as the assessment of revenue was too high. But in the early nineteenth century things improved because the stable government of the Company led to increasing prosperity and increasing cultivation of wasteland. The Company got its full revenue but those who gained most were the Zamindars who took the surplus. A Board of Revenue supervised the collection of revenue in the twenty-three districts over which the Company's collectors presided.

REFORM OF JUSTICE

Important reforms were made in the administration of justice. The Governor-General and his Council, assisted by Indian advisers, assumed a supreme jurisdiction in criminal cases with courts of circuit for criminal matters in the four districts. District courts were set up for civil cases. More important, an organized judicial service began to emerge, which provided judges for these circuit and district courts and also enabled the administration of justice to be clearly separated from matters of administration such as revenue collecting. The principle of the rule of law was directly asserted so that all the officials of the Company, whatever their function, were amenable to the courts for acts done in their official capacity. With the establishment of these courts went the creation of a police force.

CORNWALLIS AND TIPU SULTAN OF MYSORE, 1789-91

In the south in spite of the intention of Pitt's India Act of 1784, that the Governor-General could not make war on Indian princes without consent of the Board of Control, Cornwallis was obliged to intervene. The problem was that of the restless ruler of Mysore, Sultan Tipu, son of Haider Ali. Cornwallis was faced with a difficult situation in the south due to the injudicious diplomacy of the Madras Presidency which had offended the important local

Cornwallis and Tipu Sultan of Mysore, 1789-91

rulers, among them Tipu Sultan. In a letter to the Nizam, Cornwallis had named Tipu Sultan as one of the powers with whom the Company was not on friendly terms. Tipu retaliated in 1789 by attacking the state of Travancore, which was in alliance with the Company. In the war which followed the Company's troops were commanded by Cornwallis himself; he defeated Tipu and dictated peace under the walls of his capital Seringapatam. One half of Tipu's lands were annexed and a heavy indemnity of £3 million was paid; the annexation limited the aggressive power of Tipu by depriving him of control of the mountain passes leading into the Carnatic. But he still remained formidable and a fresh opportunity for his intervention came when Great Britain and France were at war after 1793.

SIR JOHN SHORE, 1793-6

Lord Cornwallis was succeeded by Sir John Shore, an eminent servant of the Company with long experience of India. His Governor-Generalship was somewhat uneventful: he tried earnestly to keep to the policy of non-intervention laid down by the India Act of 1784. He was only partly successful because Indian politics were again becoming unstable and warlike combinations began to appear. He was successful in Oudh, where he intervened when a succession question arose on the death of the Nawab. The new Nawab was obliged to cede the fort of Allahabad, to increase his treaty payments and to place control of his foreign relations in the Company's hands; in return the Company guaranteed the Nawab's dominions.

MARQUESS WELLESLEY, 1796-1804

Sir John Shore was recalled in 1796. The new Governor-General was Lord Mornington, afterwards Marquess Wellesley, who had boundless energy and a penetrating understanding of the Indian situation. Circumstances in India had changed and it was now apparent that there would be no stable combination of Indian powers. It was therefore an attractive policy to extend British

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power further so as to secure supremacy in India. This would be favourable for trade and the general interests of the Company, and would also deal with any revival of French power in the East. Great Britain took very seriously the threat to her power in the East which might come from a France revived by the genius of Napoleon. Wellesley was prepared to act vigorously to eliminate the power of the French in India and the neighbouring countries and to bind the Indian States firmly to the chariot wheels of the Company. Such a policy meant much war and diplomacy; war against the French if they showed themselves in India or tried to attack it; war with those native princes who opposed the Company; treaties of alliance with Indian States who were ready to submit and to pay for the protection of their lands by the Company's troops.

WELLESLEY AND TIPU SULTAN

Wellesley first consolidated British power in southern India; Tipu Sultan had been intriguing with French agents in Mauritius. After making an alliance with the Nizam and a friendly understanding with the Marathas, Wellesley invaded Mysore, defeated Tipu, and gave his lands to the heir of the dispossessed Hindu rulers of Mysore. In 1799 the small State of Tanjore, south of Madras, was annexed. In 1801 the Company took over the administration of the Carnatic from its ruler, the Nawab, who was pensioned off.

WELLESLEY AND THE MARATHAS

In Northern India, Oudh, which was protected by the Company, was threatened by an Afghan invasion. Wellesley demanded the cession of territory to the Company as payment for an increased force to protect Oudh, and the Nawab ceded to the Company a large tract of land between the rivers Ganges and Jumna. His most difficult problem was that of the Marathas, whose league of great princes was rent by quarrels. The two greatest military powers of this confederacy, Sindia and Holkar, were now at war for control of the headship of the confederacy, the Peshwa. In 1802 Holkar defeated the Peshwa at Poona; the latter, in desperation,

Wellesley and the Marathas

turned for help from Wellesley who exacted stiff terms by the Treaty of Bassein, 1802. The Peshwa accepted a British force of six battalions to defend him, resigned his claims on Surat and promised to conduct his relations with foreign powers by permission and consent of the Company. This treaty, to a considerable extent, placed the Maratha confederacy at the mercy of the British. Its various members must now fight or else lose their chance for ever.

Sindia and Bhonsla took up the challenge and advanced southwards, but the Governor-General's brother, Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington, defeated Bhonsla at Assaye and Argaon, 1803. General Lake captured Delhi and defeated Sindia's armies at Laswari. Both princes were now obliged to receive British residents at their courts and henceforth to conduct their foreign relations with permission of the Company. Further, Bhonsla ceded to the Company Cuttack, a coastal strip which linked Bengal with Madras; Sindia handed over the Doab, the fertile land between the rivers Ganges and Jumna, together with Delhi and Agra. Holkar, alone of the Maratha chiefs, remained undefeated; in 1804 war was waged against him, but with little success. Monson was defeated and had to retreat to Agra. Delhi was besieged by Holkar and General Lake failed to take the fortress of Bharatpur. At this stage Wellesley was recalled and the final solution of the problem of the Marathas had not yet been reached.

Wellesley was recalled because his operations were too ambitious and too expensive. For the time being a more prudent Governor-General was needed until Great Britain had defeated Napoleon, when she could embark on a forward policy once again. Wellesley was succeeded by Cornwallis, now an old man; he arrived in India but died soon afterwards (October 1805). His place was taken by Sir John Barlow, who, like Sir John Shore, was a servant of the Company. A halt was called to Wellesley's war with Holkar.

LORD MINTO, 1807-12

From 1807 to 1812 the Governor-General was Lord Minto. He arrived at a critical time in world history, for in 1807 Napoleon and

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the Tzar of Russia had made the Treaty of Tilsit which divided Europe between them. Britain was alarmed lest in concert with Russia, Napoleon might make an attempt on India. She therefore sought to strengthen herself in those parts where French influence remained and in those areas such as the North-west frontier of India through which invasion might come. Negotiations took place with the Shah of Persia, the ruler of Afghanistan, and Ranjit Singh of the Punjab. The latter ruler agreed, in return for a free hand in the Punjab, not to interfere with neighbouring States under the Company's control. The French footholds in the Indian Ocean were attacked; in 1810 the French islands of Bourbon and the Ile de France, now known as Mauritius, were captured. In 1810 the Dutch possessions in the East Indies were attacked because they had fallen under French control; in 1811 the island of Java was taken from the Dutch garrison, which had acknowledged French authority.

MARQUESS HASTINGS, 1812-23

The Maratha confederacy had declined but it had not yet finally been brought under British control. This was achieved by Lord Moira, afterwards Marquess Hastings. His immediate problem was the elimination of the Pindaris, bandit-like followers of the Marathas. Highly mobile and elusive, their sole aim was plunder; the Maratha leaders could not control these freebooters, who plundered far and wide in central India. But the attention of Hastings was diverted by the attack made by the Gurkhas of Nepal on the British protected State of Oudh. After much fighting in difficult country, the Gurkhas were forced to treat. They accepted a British resident at their capital, Khatmandu, and have remained on friendly terms with the British ever since.

By 1817 Hastings was able to plan the final liquidation of the Pindaris whose mobility, speed and elusiveness made it necessary to mount an elaborate operation. A single force would have been useless, as the Pindaris were past masters in the art of getting away from their opponents. In 1817 Hastings put over 100,000 troops into the field, dividing them into two groups: one operating to the

Marquess Hastings, 1812-23

north of the Narbada valley, the Pindari stronghold, and one to the south. The aim was to drive the Pindaris out of their lairs, to keep them on the run and finally to mop them up. The Maratha princes, Bhonsla, Holkar, Sindia and the Peshwa decided to fight, but were all defeated. By March 1819 the Pindari bands had either surrendered or had been destroyed. At the same time a final settlement was made with the Maratha powers. Some of their lands were annexed, including the lands of the Peshwa which became part of the Presidency of Bombay. One important consequence was that the Rajput States, which had long suffered from Maratha raids and interference, were now free of them and in return they recognized the paramount influence of the British.

By 1818 the British had triumphed over the legacy of anarchy that had been bequeathed by the Mughul emperors. In the next thirty or forty years they restored order and introduced westernization to the lands under the Company's control. The last years of the Governor-Generalship of Marquess Hastings saw the start of these reforms, for example, old irrigation channels were cleared, roads built and schools started.

LORD AMHERST, 1823-8

The successor of Hastings was Lord Amherst, whose Governor-Generalship lasted from 1823 to 1828. It was uneventful except for the beginnings of British rule in Burma. The Burmans had attacked the eastern part of Bengal. A war followed, not very efficiently conducted, between 1824 and 1826; the Burmans finally agreed to cede the north-western parts of their country to the Company.

LORD BENTINCK, 1828-35

Lord William Bentinck became Governor-General in 1828. In politics he was an advanced Whig with radical ideas, some of which he applied to India. He met the directors' wish for economy after the expenses of the Burman War by reducing the cost of the Civil Service and army, especially of the latter, by cutting down

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the field allowances of the Bengal army. He made administrative reforms in the revenue collection for the newly annexed provinces of the north-west. He reformed the administration of justice, increasing the status and power of the Indian judges; the provincial and circuit courts which had been set up by Cornwallis were abolished. On humanitarian grounds, Bentinck interfered with some of the social and religious customs of India; he prohibited the practice of *suttee* whereby Hindi widows were burnt alive on the funeral pyres of their husbands. He took active measures to suppress the *thagi*, or Thugs, who were groups of robbers and ritual murderers infesting the highways and inns of India, and preying on innocent travellers and merchants. Bentinck, who ardently believed in the benefits Western civilization could give India, took an important step in 1833 when, influenced by the plausible arguments of his Secretary, T. B. Macaulay, he decided that English should be the medium of instruction in the government-sponsored schools in India. Western knowledge, rather than Indian culture and civilization, would be the subject of study in places of education.

CONTROL OF THE COMPANY BY THE CROWN, 1784-1853

The control by the British government over the Company given by the India Act of 1784 was extended between 1793 and 1853. The opportunity for this was the renewal of the Company's charter. In 1793 this was renewed for twenty years followed by other renewals in 1813, 1833, and 1853. The occasion of renewal brought the whole of the Company's affairs and conduct under the scrutiny of Parliament. The Act of 1793 renewing the charter made few changes of any importance. In 1813 the Company lost its monopoly of Indian trade but retained the monopoly of its China trade from which most of its profits were made. In 1833 the Company lost its Indian trade altogether and also its monopoly of the China trade. More important, at this renewal of the charter, the Company was named as political agent for the Crown; the Company now held its lands in India 'in trust for His Majesty, His heirs and successors, for the service of the government of

Control of the Company by the Crown, 1784-1853

India'. A law commission was also set up to codify into a single system the five existing systems of law and regulations that had been introduced into British India. This led eventually (1860-1) to the Indian Penal Code and the Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure. The last renewal of the charter was in 1853. Its most important innovation was that the patronage of the Company, or right to make appointments to its service, was abolished; in its place the principle of open competition by examination was introduced. This was the beginning of the Indian Civil Service in its modern form.

The cumulative effect of these changes made since 1793 was that the political power of the Company had dwindled and its place had been taken by that of the Crown, exercised through the Board of Control; the Company had also lost its commercial privileges. It seems likely that even if the Mutiny had not intervened, the Company must have come to an end sooner rather than later. Although it retained down to its dissolution in 1858, its own army, its own civil service and administration, since 1833 the Crown had been the ruler of British India in all but name.

LORD AUCKLAND, 1836-42

Bentinck retired in 1835, and Sir Charles Metcalfe acted as Governor-General until Bentinck's successor, Lord Auckland, came out from England. Auckland was a man of moderate abilities. He continued the reforms that Bentinck had started. In this he was reasonably successful, but it was the foreign problems outside British India that proved his undoing. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, the British had been paying increasing attention to the North-west of India. The capture of Delhi had brought them to this area. In 1809 the Company had concluded the Treaty of Amritsar with Ranjit Singh, the ruler of the Punjab lying between the river Indus and the river Sutlej; until his death, he remained on friendly terms with the British. Further westward lay Afghanistan and Persia; both countries seemed to be falling increasingly under the influence of Russia who, in the 1820's and 1830's, had been extending her power both in the Near and in the Middle East.

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British policy, directed by Palmerston, favoured intervention in Afghanistan to stop the possible advance of Russia to the North-west frontier approaches of India.

THE FIRST AFGHAN WAR, 1839-42

Lord Auckland, Governor-General since 1836, put this policy of intervention into effect with disastrous results. His aim was to support the claims of Shah Shuja to the Afghan throne against the existing ruler, Dost Mohammed. In 1839 a British army of some 20,000 entered the country and captured its most important towns, including the capital Kabul. It was soon clear that Shah Shuja had little support in the country and it would be necessary for the British to remain in occupation to support him. The British position became increasingly difficult; their communications with India were threatened by the frontier tribesmen.

In January 1842 a treaty of evacuation was signed with the Afghans, but the 16,000 men never reached India. All save one survivor were killed or captured or died in the inhospitable climate on the retreat from Kabul. Auckland had now been replaced by Lord Ellenborough, who decided on complete evacuation of the British garrisons in the other Afghan towns, but at the same time to retrieve the situation if possible and to repair the damage to British prestige. A British army again entered Afghanistan; Kabul was recaptured, prisoners rescued, and then a withdrawal took place. The British had clearly failed because Dost Mohammed recovered his throne. Russia had not intervened or shown any signs of doing so; it would have been better to have left Afghanistan alone.

THE ANNEXATION OF SIND, 1843

The territory of Sind, lying in the lower part of the Indus valley, now came under Lord Ellenborough's attention. There had been friendly treaty relations with the Amirs who ruled this land. Ellenborough, perhaps to recover prestige, allowed Sir Charles Napier to provoke a war with these rulers. Napier admitted that this action was wrong, but nevertheless the Amirs were attacked

The Annexation of Sind, 1843

in 1843, defeated at Miani, and their territories annexed. A compelling motive was that Sind controlled the approaches to one of the passes, the Bolan, into southern Afghanistan.

SIR HENRY HARDINGE, 1844-8

Ellenborough was succeeded by Sir Henry Hardinge in 1844; a year later the first Sikh war started. Under Ranjit Singh a strong Sikh State had developed. The Sikhs practised a purified form of Hinduism and regarded themselves as a chosen people, a race apart. They were warrior groups who, by their faith and courage, had established themselves in the Punjab between the Indus and the Sutlej. In this State the Sikhs predominated, but they tolerated other religious communities; in Ranjit Singh they had an outstanding leader. He realized the military power of the Company and therefore raised and trained an army capable of meeting that of the Company on equal terms. His army was organized on European lines, with some European officers; it dominated the State and absorbed most of its revenues.

THE SIKH WARS: 1845-6 AND 1848-9

Ranjit Singh had used the army to expand Sikh territories as far as possible and within the limits permitted by the power of British India in the east and the geographical obstacles of the mountainous regions in the west. His death in 1839 led to confusion in the Sikh State. The Regent, in order to divert the menace of the army, encouraged it to attack the British and this led to war in 1845. It was a hard-fought war in which the bravery, good training and organization of the Sikh army were clearly shown. British casualties were high, largely due to the frontal attacks ordered by General Sir Hugh Gough on the strongly defended Sikh positions. The Sikhs were finally defeated at Sobraon in February 1846, and the Punjab was at the disposal of the British. They did not annex it but secured control by a British Resident in Lahore. It was hoped that a reformed Sikh State would continue under British advice. Sir Henry Lawrence was appointed Resident. His re-

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forming zeal offended the more extreme Sikhs who thought their religion and customs were being attacked. This led to smouldering discontent and an attempt in 1848 to reverse the verdict of 1846. Lord Dalhousie was now Governor-General; he sent in Gough to crush the Sikh military power once and for all. This was done after several costly battles, the decisive one being at Gujarat in 1849.

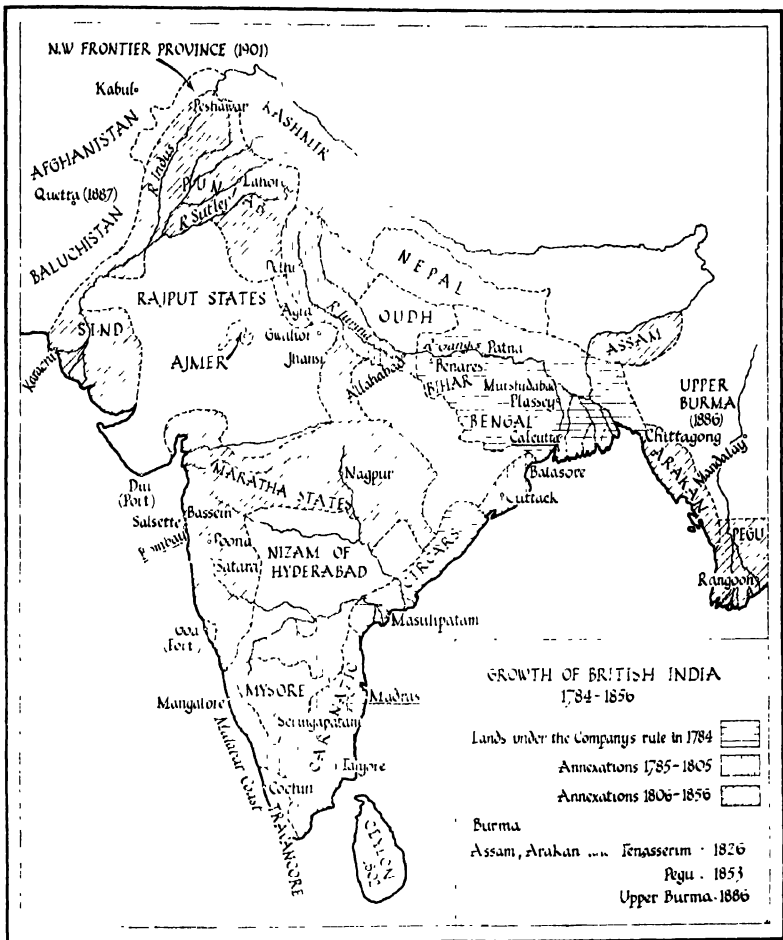
ANNEXATION OF THE PUNJAB, 1849

Dalhousie, on his own responsibility, annexed the Punjab to British India; it was a vital area for the defence of British India on the north-west. Thinking that its government could be improved by the introduction of Western administration, he set up a Board of Administration. At the head of this he placed first Henry Lawrence and later his brother John. Under John Lawrence the reorganization of the Punjab was completed. It became a model province and its administrators were among the most talented of all the Indian Civil Service. They quickly gave it peace and prosperity. Roads and irrigation canals were constructed. Internally, law and order was secured, bandits and other disturbers of the peace were put down. The land tax was reduced by half and village settlements encouraged. When the challenge of the Mutiny came in 1857, the Punjab remained loyal and the Sikhs actively assisted the British in the suppression of this revolt.

LORD DALHOUSIE, 1848-56

Lord Dalhousie, Governor-General from 1848 to 1856, was a man with a mission. He believed in the superiority of Western civilization, administration and reforms, and wished to give India the benefit of these. In his view many of the Indian States suffered from inefficient government; in the general interest it would be best if they were brought under British rule. This could only be done by annexation, for which there were two grounds. First, the right of the paramount power, the Company, to regulate and recognize the succession of new rulers to any Indian State bound to it by treaty or otherwise under its influence, and secondly,

Lord Dalhousie, 1848-56



MAP II. GROWTH OF BRITISH INDIA, 1784-1856

misgovernment. From the first right, Dalhousie evolved the doctrine of lapse. By this any Hindu ruler who had no son to succeed him could not adopt an heir without the consent of the paramount power. If this consent was not given, then, on the ruler's death, his territory passed to the rule of the Company. It was a disturbing doctrine for the Hindu princes, many of whom had been accustomed to adopt heirs to succeed them if they had no son of their own. Under this rule several States were annexed,

British India, 1784-1858

for example, Satara (1848), Jhansi (1853) and Nagpur (1854). On the grounds of misgovernment, the Kingdom of Oudh was annexed (1852). This was a Moslem State and consequently the same disquiet which had affected the Hindu rulers over lapse, now extended to their Moslem brethren.

Internally, Dalhousie started a widespread programme of administrative reforms. He set up a Public Works Department to carry out the building of roads and digging of canals. The trunk road from Calcutta to Peshawar was completed. More important, Dalhousie pioneered a system of railways for India; he saw the great importance of these in such a vast land where communications were lacking for trade and the movement of peoples. Other improvements in communications were the introduction of an electric telegraph system and an improved postal system. In education, Dalhousie planned ambitiously. Primary education along Western lines had already been started: it was extended by him. In addition, secondary education was developed and a number of Indian universities were planned, the first of which started shortly after Dalhousie left India in 1856.

THE CAUSES OF THE INDIAN MUTINY

Dalhousie little thought that within a year his work of progress for India would be rudely interrupted by the upheaval of the Indian mutiny. His successor as Governor-General was Lord Canning. The causes of the mutiny are complicated and various explanations of them have been given. In its narrowest aspect the mutiny was a mutiny of the Bengal native army. In its wider aspect the mutiny reflected the discontent of influential groups against the westernization policy of the previous thirty years. There seems little doubt that the reforms of Dalhousie had much to do with the outbreak. To many Hindus and Moslems, these reforms seemed to threaten their traditional way of life; the rulers feared the policy of lapse and annexation which threatened their very existence. Religious practices such as *suttee* had been suppressed; Christian missions were seeking converts, Western education was proclaimed superior to Hindu learning: all these facts created disquiet and anxiety for the future.

The Causes of the Indian Mutiny

DISCONTENT IN THE COMPANY'S ARMIES

The Company had three native armies, those of the Presidencies of Bengal, Bombay and Madras. Of these, the Bengal army was by far the largest—it numbered 150,000 and of these only 23,000 were European regiments of the East India Company. The Bengal army had always been somewhat troublesome, largely because of the numerous high-caste Hindus, Brahmins and Rajputs in its ranks; there were also many Moslem sepoys from the kingdom of Oudh which had been annexed by Dalhousie in 1852. The high-caste Hindus were alarmed by the changes that had been made in British India. The General Service Enlistment Act of 1856 added to their fears of losing caste as this Act required them to serve overseas instead of only in India. In 1852 there had been a small mutiny when a regiment of the Bengal army refused to sail overseas to fight in the Burma campaign. Some of the British officers were out of touch with their men and did not realize the smouldering discontent of the sepoys of the Bengal army.

The outbreak was caused by the greased cartridges. The sepoys had been issued with a new Enfield rifle; before loading the cartridges had to be bitten by the soldier to expose the powder. The rumour circulated that these cartridges were smeared with the fat of cows and pigs; to the Hindu the cow was sacred, and to the Moslem the pig was unclean. A Hindu soldier who bit the cartridge would defile himself, thus losing caste; while the Moslem soldier would be eating something unclean. Too late, the cartridges were withdrawn.

THE MUTINY AND ITS SUPPRESSION, 1857-8

Early in 1857 there were incidents when certain regiments refused to use the new cartridges. On 10 May 1857 the sepoys at Meerut mutinied, shot their British officers, and went off to capture Delhi. Within a few weeks the mutiny had spread to the other regiments of the Bengal army stationed in the upper Ganges valley, but the native armies of Bombay and Madras remained loyal.

The threat to British India was considerable as the mutineers

British India, 1784-1858

were well trained in the three arms of infantry, cavalry and artillery. The immediate British aim was to stop the mutiny spreading further and to recapture Delhi, which might become the capital of a revived Mughul empire. Time would be needed for reinforcements to arrive in India. During the summer of 1857 the British had some successes and some reverses. In the United Provinces, Lucknow was relieved for the first time but Cawnpore was lost. Here Nana Sahib broke his word and murdered all his prisoners including 125 British women and children. In September Delhi was recaptured and in November Lucknow was finally relieved by Sir Colin Campbell. Although the mutineers fought desperately, they had no concerted plan of campaign and by the end of 1857 the greater part of the rebels had been rounded up. In 1858 there remained the rebels in north central India, who were led by a courageous woman, the Ranee of Jhansi. But Jhansi was captured in March, the Ranee killed and finally the key fortress of Gwalior was taken in June 1858. This was the end of the mutiny.

RESULTS OF THE MUTINY

The mutiny was an unfortunate incident in the history of British India; it left embittered feeling. During the course of the mutiny, many cruelties had been perpetrated on both sides: when the fighting was over it was the wisdom and restraint of Governor-General Canning which prevented any further vengeance being taken. The British government had to reconsider its policy towards British India. The East India Company, which had been steadily losing political power since 1833, was abolished. The British Crown took over finally and completely the government of British India; the Governor-General as the direct representative of the Crown took the further title of Viceroy. A Secretary of State for India was created, with the India Office in Whitehall taking the place of the old Board of Control; a Council of India of fifteen members was set up to advise the Secretary of State on Indian matters. These changes were made by the Government of India Act, 1858. In the same year, the Queen's Proclamation sought to assure the Indian peoples that their religions and customs would

Results of the Mutiny

not be interfered with and to promise that in the future they would be associated with the British in the work of the government of their own country. The position of the Indian princes was secured by the recognition of their titles subject to their allegiance to the British Crown. The civil servants, judges, officers and men of the Company were offered employment in the service of the Crown without loss of rank or seniority; those who did not transfer were retired on pension. Finally the sepoy armies were reorganized with a greater proportion of Europeans to Indians than had existed before the outbreak of the mutiny.

I6

THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS AND MALAYA

FRANCIS LIGHT AND PENANG

When the East India Company extended its trade to China the need for bases on the way there became apparent. That it was able to acquire one was due to a freelance captain of a trading ship, Francis Light. As early as 1771, Light had written to the Governor of Bengal that Penang would be very suitable as a trading base on the way to the East. In 1772 the Company sent a mission to negotiate with the Sultan of Kedah in whose territories the island of Penang lay. The negotiations came to nothing because the Company would not promise military assistance to the Sultan against his enemies.

The Straits Settlements and Malaya, 1786-1957

Light meanwhile had been carrying on trade at the island of Junkseylon, about 200 miles north of Penang. In 1780 when he visited Calcutta he drew the attention of Warren Hastings to the possibilities of taking Junkseylon under the Company's protection. Owing to the war with France at this time, Hastings could not act on the suggestion. The activities of the French Admiral de Suffren in the Indian Ocean during this war emphasized the need for a base to the East. Light started negotiations with the new Sultan of Kedah and obtained the offer of the island of Penang in return for protection by the Company and compensation for any loss of trade.

Light was appointed Superintendent of the new settlement and in the middle of 1786 he arrived with a small force at Penang. Formal possession was taken of the island on 11 August 1786 and the new town was known as Georgetown, in honour of King George III. Ships and merchants of all nations soon began to trade at Penang because of the security afforded by the Company's protection. Light, who had done more than anybody to establish Penang, died there in 1794 and by that time about 30,000 inhabitants were living in the town. In 1800 the Sultan of Kedah ceded the coastal strip opposite the island in return for an increase in his annual payment to 10,000 dollars. This new land was known as Province Wellesley and strengthened the position of Penang because it covered it from attack from the mainland. In 1805 the Company, realizing the importance of their new acquisition, promoted it to be a Presidency, with a full Governor and Council, thus putting it on the same level as Bombay, Madras and Bengal.

THE OCCUPATION OF MALACCA, 1795

The situation in the East had been affected by the outbreak of war in Europe against the French Revolution. By 1795 French armies had overrun Holland and driven the ruler of Holland from his throne. The British, who knew that French control of the Dutch colonies would threaten the British routes to the East, with the consent of the exiled ruler of Holland occupied the Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon and Malacca. The Dutch in Java refused to obey the command to hand over to Great Britain.

The Occupation of Malacca, 1795

Malacca, on the mainland of Malaya, was about 250 miles south of Penang, and situated mid-way on the Straits of Malacca; at one time it had been an important port for trade from the East. The Dutch had captured it from the Portuguese in 1641 but they had not used it much since their own trading activities were mainly centred in the island of Java. They used it principally as a base from which to prevent attempts of native traders to evade their trading regulations and to ship cargoes of spice into the Indian Ocean.

Malacca was handed over after token resistance in 1795. Within a few years under British rule Malacca began to recover some of its former trading glory, but this did not please the British traders at Penang. The East India Company, now that it had Malacca in its control, began to think about destroying it once and for all; there was no need for two such bases so close to one another. Traders would come to Malacca but they would not bother to come 250 miles further north to Penang; in 1805 it was decided to destroy the fortifications at Malacca and to remove the inhabitants and traders to Penang. This was quite regardless of the promise made to restore Malacca to the Dutch at the end of the war. Some destruction of Malacca was carried out when, at the end of 1805, there arrived at Penang as Assistant Secretary to the Council a remarkable man whose career was destined to change the course of British fortunes in the Far East. This was Stamford Raffles (1781-1826).

STAMFORD RAFFLES AT PENANG AND MALACCA, 1805-10

Raffles had been born at sea on board his father's ship *West India Merchantman*. As his family was poor, Raffles, after very little education, entered the East India Company's office at the age of fourteen as a clerk. There he worked hard and in his spare time lost no opportunity to make good the deficiencies in his education by studying languages and science. It was this astonishing industry that soon put Raffles ahead of his competitors. When he reached the East he had acquired on the voyage out a working knowledge of the Malay language which was something few, if any, of his colleagues

The Straits Settlements and Malaya, 1786-1957

could pretend to. On arrival at Penang he energetically set to work as Assistant Secretary and also as the official Malay translator to the government. He also did everything he could to acquire a detailed knowledge of the history and customs of the Malay people and in addition an extensive knowledge of the political and commercial situation in Eastern waters.

In 1808 Raffles went to Malacca on sick leave. What he learned there convinced him of the folly of the decision taken by the East India Company in 1805 to destroy Malacca and remove its trading community to Penang. On his return to Penang he submitted a long and able memorandum to the Governor and Council arguing very strongly against the policy of destroying Malacca. He started by saying that the East India Company had been misinformed about the possibilities for trade that Malacca possessed and also completely misled by the information that the population and trade of Malacca could be quite easily transplanted to Penang. While it might be possible to remove the poorer classes without much difficulty Raffles pointed out that the prosperous trading elements were firmly attached to their homes and would not welcome any move to Penang. Regarding the native traders from the great and small islands of the East Indian archipelago who came up the Straits of Malacca, it was only those with the larger ships who could make the voyage to Penang because of the contrary monsoon winds. The smaller ones, according to Raffles, invariably traded at Malacca. If Malacca was destroyed these smaller vessels with their varied cargoes would not be likely to make the voyage higher up the coast to Penang and so an important and valuable trade would be lost to the Company. Once abandoned Malacca might fall into the hands of a native prince who might use it as a base for pirate ships to prey on the commerce going up and down the Straits of Malacca.

Raffles then went on to a most important point:

Although the permanent fortifications and public works of every description may be effectually destroyed, the possession of Malacca would ever be a most desirable object to a European power and to our enemy. Prince of Wales island (Penang), though advantageously situated for commanding the bay and the Northern entrance of the Straits, has by no means the same advantage in command within the Straits that Malacca

Stamford Raffles at Penang and Malacca, 1805-10

possesses. Every ship that passes up or down must be observed from the latter place, and should this station ever be held by an enterprising enemy, not only Penang, but our more important China trade, would be materially endangered. We have now the command. Why give it up, unless we are forced? And I trust we are not reduced to that extremity.

These words reveal Raffles as a man of vision who was looking ahead to the day when British trade and empire should expand and develop in the Far East and its approaches beyond the Straits of Malacca. His arguments were so compelling that the Governor-General at Calcutta soon wrote to countermand the instructions given for the destruction of Malacca and the removal of its inhabitants to Penang.

THE CONQUEST OF JAVA, 1811

Raffles had further and more ambitious projects. The British had taken (1808) the Dutch islands of the Moluccas in the Indian Ocean and the French naval bases of Réunion and Mauritius (1810). There remained the rich island of Java. Raffles had obtained much information about this island which he regarded as the prize above all to be taken from the Dutch in pursuance of the project of establishing English mastery and commercial supremacy in the Eastern isles. In 1810 he went to Calcutta where he placed before the Governor-General, Lord Minto, a memorandum which proposed the capture and annexation of Java. He emphasized the immense advantages that would be gained by the capture of this wealthy island and how it would promote our trading interests in the East:

The resources of Java are extensive. It is the rice granary of the East, supplying all the Dutch possessions without any prohibition of export elsewhere. If the island was free from restriction, it could more than cover its expenditure. Coffee, pepper, cotton, tobacco and indigo, etc., can be cultivated with such success that every other settlement in that quarter of the globe could be undersold. Its timber resources alone would render its possession an object of the greatest importance. For example, teak might be supplied from Samarang and the Eastern shores for shipbuilding at a much lower rate than from Burma and so could crooked timber, especially for the frames of the largest class of ships.

The Straits Settlements and Malaya, 1786-1957

The proposal of Raffles was adopted and a combined operation by the navy and army was planned for the capture of Java. The operation was made possible by the indefatigable industry of Raffles who now returned to Malacca where he set up headquarters to make a detailed reconnaissance for the invasion of Java. Raffles collected information about the strength of the French and Dutch in Java, the attitude of the native princes in and outside Java to Dutch authority, and the best possible route of approach to the island. The information and negotiations undertaken by Raffles contributed a great deal to the success of the expedition which reached Java at the beginning of August 1811. It was brilliantly successful and within five or six weeks the island had been taken; the Dutch General Janssens was forced to capitulate. With Java went the other dependencies of the Dutch in the East Indian archipelago which was now controlled entirely by the British. Raffles was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Java and Sumatra and undertook his duties with the utmost enthusiasm, doing his best to bring better government to Java. The Dutch had compelled the Javanese to grow crops for export, but Raffles changed this and allowed them freedom to grow what they liked; his aim was to increase the prosperity of the native population so that it could purchase imported English goods. The Dutch on the other hand were only interested in raising crops for export and had no great import trade to consider. The Dutch had forced the natives to work compulsorily without payment but Raffles abolished this and also gave the cultivators private property in land. He made considerable reforms in the administration of law. The Peace Treaty of 1815 restored Java and the other East Indian islands to the Dutch. Raffles returned to England from Java in 1816 where he spent some time in writing his history of Java. He became a celebrity in English society and was knighted by the Prince Regent, afterwards George IV.

RAFFLES AND SINGAPORE

In spite of his achievements, Raffles was not in favour with his employers, the East India Company. As they had no suitable

Raffles and Singapore

employment for him in India he went out again to the East in 1817 as Lieutenant-Governor of Bencoolen on the south-west coast of Sumatra. This had been in the hands of the Company since 1685, but had not prospered as it was on the wrong side of the island and was run at a loss by the Company. Raffles did what he could to revive this derelict post but at the same time was looking further afield to the general position in the East Indies that had come about since peace had been made and the Dutch had recovered their possessions in this area.

The Dutch had set about the re-establishment of their position with a great deal of zeal. The experiences of the late war had thoroughly alarmed them and they were determined not to be caught out again. In particular, not only were they going to re-establish their position in the archipelago but they intended to make sure that the British did not advance an inch into the East by establishing their control over the Malay peninsula and the vital approaches into the Eastern seas. Raffles was fully aware of this and he was determined that Great Britain should not be squeezed out of this area. He saw that it was essential for Great Britain to obtain an advantageous position at the entry into the East Indian seas. He emphasized that a base nearer to this part was necessary: Bencoolen and Penang were too far away. This conclusion focused his attention on the southern entrance to the Straits of Malacca and he recommended the seizure of an island in this area. It should be noted that by the peace treaty Malacca was to be handed back to the Dutch although this was not actually done until 1818.

In October 1818 Raffles went to Calcutta to discuss the position with the Governor-General, Lord Hastings, who somewhat reluctantly agreed to send a small expedition under Raffles to see if a station could be obtained at the southern entrance to the Malacca Straits. The Dutch, in fearful anticipation, had already occupied the adjacent island of Rhio. Raffles therefore went to the island of Singapore which lay close to the mainland of southern Malaya. He arrived there in January 1819 and to his delight found that the Dutch had not yet occupied it. The local ruler of the island was ready to allow the Company to set up a factory on the island and this concession was later confirmed by the Sultan of Johore.

The Straits Settlements and Malaya, 1786-1957

Agreements were made with both rulers whereby in return for annual payments the East India Company could establish its trading post. The Dutch were naturally angered by this action of Raffles and claimed that the Sultan of Johore was one of their dependent princes who had no right to make the concession. There was the possibility that they would send troops to drive out the English traders.

Writing in May 1819 Raffles clearly stated the importance of this new base:

Singapore is within a week's sail of China; still closer to Siam, Cochin China, etc., in the very heart of the archipelago or, as the Malays call it, the navel of the Malay country. Already a population of about 5000 souls has collected under our flag: the number is daily increasing, the harbour in every way superior, filled with shipping from all quarters. Our object is not territory but trade; a great commercial emporium and a fulcrum whence we may extend our influence politically as circumstances may hereafter require. By taking immediate possession we put a negative to the Dutch claim of exclusion and at the same time revive the drooping confidence of our allies and friends. One free port in these seas must eventually destroy the spell of Dutch monopoly; and what Malta is in the West, that may Singapore become in the East. The free and uninterrupted command of the Straits of Malacca having been obtained, it is conceived that the Dutch government will readily cede to us the settlement of Malacca, now useless to them.

Raffles then returned to Bencoolen but in 1822 visited Singapore again. From the very start the settlement had been a success and the free port policy had attracted vessels of all nations and the trade began to increase rapidly. During his stay at Singapore from 1822 to 1823 Raffles took an active part in the organization of the settlement. In 1823, under the powers given by proclamation, a government was set up. Singapore was declared a free port open to ships and vessels of every nation, free of duty. Law and order were provided for by appointing twelve magistrates and creating a police force. Commerce was important but Raffles looked beyond this: there were the benefits of civilization for those who came under the influence of Great Britain. He therefore pioneered an educational institution at Singapore, emphasizing the benefits that it would confer upon the Malayan peoples:

Raffles and Singapore

If commerce brings wealth to our shores, it is the spirit of literature and philanthropy that teaches us how to employ it for the noblest purposes. It is this which has made Britain go forth among nations, strong in her native light, to dispense blessings to all around her. If the time shall come when her empire shall have passed away, these monuments of her virtue will endure, when her triumphs shall have become an empty name.

After his great work in the East, Raffles returned to England in 1824. He lived only two years after this, dying in 1826.

THE ANGLO-DUTCH TREATY OF 1824

Singapore was clearly far too valuable to be given up. In 1824, after protracted negotiations, an Anglo-Dutch Treaty was signed which regulated the respective positions of the two powers in the East:

(1) The Dutch surrendered to Great Britain their stations in India, Malacca and all other settlements in the Malay Peninsula.

(2) The British ceded to the Dutch their settlements in Sumatra, i.e. Bencoolen, and they undertook to make no further settlements south of Singapore.

(3) The British were confirmed in their possession of Singapore.

(4) The Ports of both countries in the East were to be open to the ships and subjects of either nations on payment of a fixed duty, the Dutch thus abandoning their attempt to keep a monopoly of trade in the East Indies.

Thus the Treaty divided the Eastern area into two spheres of influence: Great Britain took Malaya and the Dutch retained the East Indies. As a result of this settlement, the East India Company in August 1824 negotiated the transfer of sovereignty of Singapore Island from the Sultan of Johore in return for an increased pension.

THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS, 1826-67

Singapore, Malacca and Penang became in 1826 the Straits Settlements and until 1867 remained a dependency of India, first under the East India Company till its abolition in 1858 and then under the India Office. For reasons of economy the Settlements lost the

The Straits Settlements and Malaya, 1786-1957

status of Presidency which had been given to Penang and became a Residency under the government of Bengal. The seat of government was moved to Singapore in 1832 with Resident Councillors at Penang and Malacca.

During this period the outstanding feature was the growth in the trade of the Settlements, especially that of Singapore. In 1825 its exports and imports were valued at just over £2½ million; by 1864 they had reached £13¼ million, well over twice as much as the combined trade of Penang and Malacca. Singapore was not only a free port but there was no hindrance to the establishment of private merchant houses since the East India Company had lost its monopoly of Indian trade in 1813 and the China trade in 1833. Merchants from all nations, with English, Scots and Chinese predominating, engaged in the local and European trade. The Chinese and Indian merchants prospered under the good government of the Settlements. There were however two problems that had to be settled: one was the trouble caused by the Chinese secret societies, and piracy in the neighbouring seas.

Some of these Chinese associations such as the Triad society were anti-social. Thus they often intimidated members of the Chinese community not to give evidence in a law court against a member of the society who had committed a crime. Informers who co-operated with the government by giving away the secrets of the society were often murdered. In the 1850's and 1860's there were riots in Singapore between rival Chinese societies in which hundreds of Chinese were killed. Other areas where Chinese had settled had similar experiences: for instance, the Larut tinfields of Perak in 1862-7.

The highway of trade of the Malacca Straits was a tempting area for the many pirates that swarmed in eastern waters. Some of these were Malays coming from the small islands south of Singapore or from the river estuaries of the mainland of Malaya; others such as the Lanuns and Balanini came from North Borneo and the South Philippines. Using fast ships propelled by sail and oars these pirates attacked the smaller native ships which, unlike the larger and well-armed European ones, could not easily defend themselves. Bold in attack, these pirates were equally elusive in retreat to their

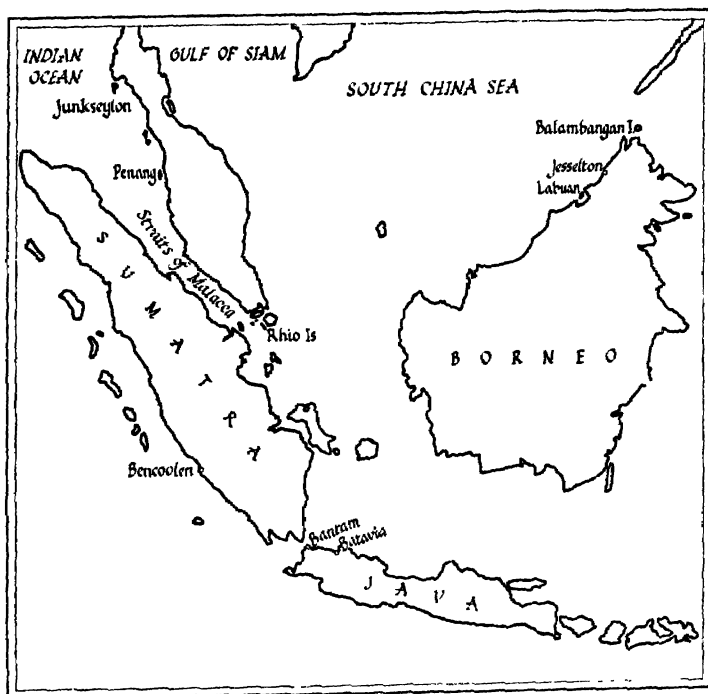
The Straits Settlements, 1826-67

hideouts in the narrow and shallow channels of the estuaries and mangrove swamps. In the years 1835-55 the British navy, with the co-operation of the Dutch and Spanish, carried out a vigorous suppression of piracy in the Straits, the East Indian archipelago and in the South China sea.

In its relations with the neighbouring powers of Siam and the Malay rulers of the peninsula the government of the Settlements showed, apart from its actions in 1826, a good deal of caution; the policy of the East India Company was to avoid the expense which such intervention would entail. Even so it had to negotiate with Siam which had overrun Kedah, the neighbour of Province Wellesley and Penang. In 1826 Captain Burney concluded a treaty with Siam whereby, in return for recognition of Siamese rule in Kedah, acknowledgement was given of the independence of Perak and Selangor. Soon after and without any authority from the Company the Penang government sent a little help to Perak to ensure its independence from Siam. Captain James Low, who was in command of the small force sent, made in 1826 a treaty of alliance with the Sultan. The Company did not confirm this treaty nor did it occupy the Dindings islands which were ceded by the treaty. Yet as the treaty was not openly repudiated Perak derived a certain amount of indirect protection from it. In the southern part of the peninsula and outside the sphere of Siamese influence friendly relations were developed with the Temenggong Ibrahim, ruler of Johore. His territories were now beginning to feel the benefit of their nearness to Singapore, where Johore pepper could be sold with profit.

The Settlements became increasingly dissatisfied with government from India, which in its turn found them remote and unprofitable. The Settlements disliked the pro-Siamese policy of the Company and its reluctance to take a more positive line with the Malayan States where considerable possibilities for trade existed. In 1855 the Company tactlessly tried to levy port dues and to replace the silver dollar with the Indian rupee. Although both measures failed, the attempt to enforce them stimulated the movement for separation from India. This finally came about in 1867 when the Straits Settlements became a Crown Colony under the

The Straits Settlements and Malaya, 1786-1957



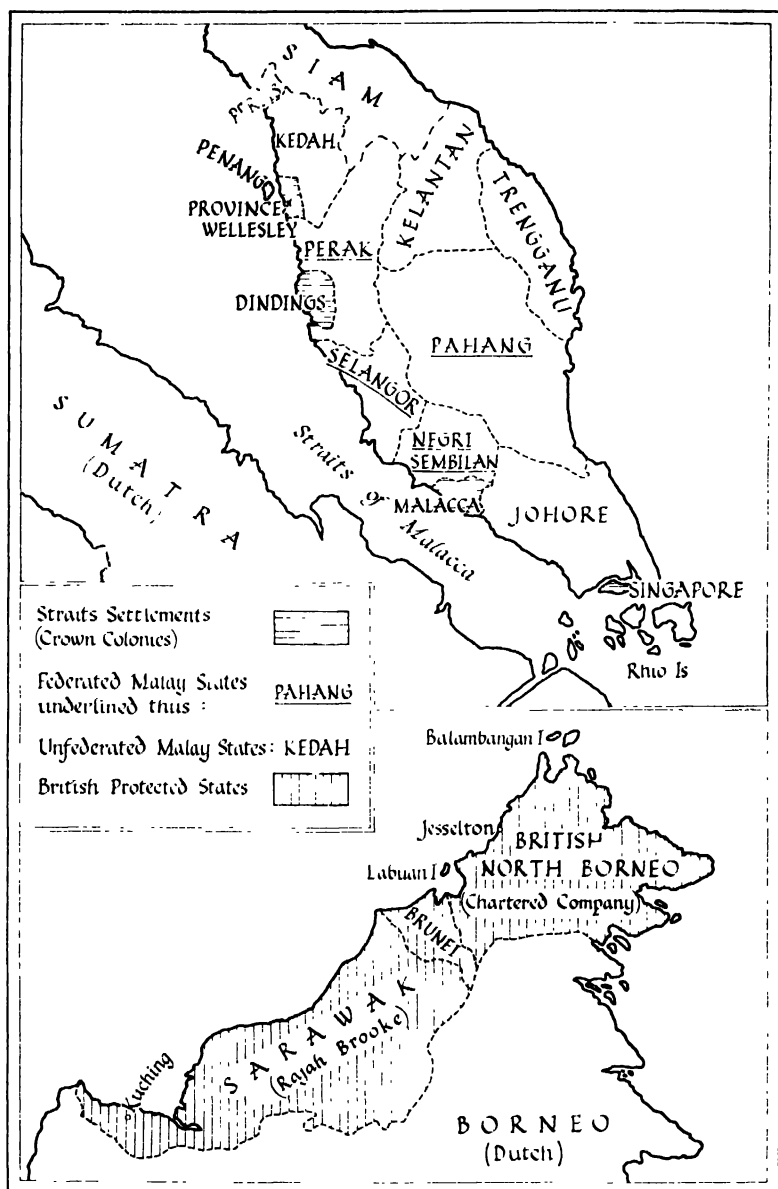
MAP 12. (a) MALAYA AND THE EAST INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO

Colonial Office. The Straits Settlements Act of 1866 which had authorized this separation gave a Legislative Council of eleven official and six unofficial members to assist the Governor in making laws for the good order and government of the colony.

GREAT BRITAIN AND THE MALAY STATES, 1868-96

The policy of non-intervention in the affairs of the Malay States of the peninsula continued for a few years after the Straits Settlements became a Crown Colony. Traders were warned that if they went into the States of Pahang, Perak, Selangor or Negri Sembilan they could not expect their lives and property there to be protected by the British Crown. Conditions in these Malay States at this time bordered on anarchy due chiefly to continued succession struggles between the various claimants to the sultanates.

Great Britain and the Malay States, 1868-96



MAP 12. (b) THE BRITISH IN MALAYA
(c) BRITISH BORNEO

The Straits Settlements and Malaya, 1786-1957

In Perak the numerous Chinese tin miners were carrying on a ferocious private war caused by the rivalry of the secret societies, and disputes over control of the tinfields.

A disputed succession to the throne of Perak gave the British government a chance to change its policy. The Governor of the Straits Settlements was thus informed in September 1873: 'Her Majesty's government find it incumbent to employ such influence as they possess with the native princes to rescue, if possible, these fertile and productive countries from the ruin which must befall them if the present disorders continue unchecked.' The Governor was to persuade the Malay rulers to accept British Residents as advisers.

Sir Andrew Clarke, the new Governor, found that the lawful heir to the throne of Perak, the Raja Muda Abdullah, who had been passed over in favour of the Bendhara Ismail, was ready to accept a Resident if the British would make him Sultan. A treaty effecting this was signed in January 1874. Ismail was deposed and pensioned off, the Dindings Islands and a strip of coastline opposite were ceded and a British Resident accepted. Abdullah promised to ask for, and act on, the advice of the Resident on 'all questions other than those touching Malay religion and custom'. At the same time a pacification was made of the warring Chinese tin miners in Perak.

Unfortunately the first Resident, Mr James Birch, was not a success. He openly disapproved of Malay customs and very soon had deeply offended not only Sultan Abdullah but also the Perak chiefs by his highhanded prohibition of their collection of feudal dues and by helping debt slaves to escape. They planned and carried out his murder in November 1875; this led to a small force of troops entering Perak to round up the murderers. A complete change in affairs was soon brought by the appointment of Hugh Low as Resident in 1876. Low was as sympathetic to the Malays as Birch had been the reverse and quickly gained the co-operation of the chiefs. The chiefs were given allowances from government revenue to compensate them for the loss of their feudal taxes. Forced labour services and debt slavery were abolished. Government was helped by the creation of a State Council presided over

Great Britain and the Malay States, 1868-96

by the Sultan, with the Resident, Malay chiefs and Chinese businessmen as the other members.

Somewhat cautiously the principle of Residents was extended to the other States. Piracy committed against British subjects in Selangor gave a chance to intervene there. The Sultan and chiefs expressed a desire to have a British Resident in 1874 and a young civil servant, Frank Swettenham, was sent to act as an informal adviser to the Sultan. Later in 1882 he was appointed Resident and under him Selangor advanced much in the same way as Perak under Sir Hugh Low. Roads, bridges and railways opened up the State, and development of tin mining by the Chinese provided a State revenue.

It took longer to bring Negri Sembilan under British protection since the 'Nine Countries' which made up this territory had their separate chiefs who all had to give their consent. The most important ruler, the Dato' Klana of Sungei Ujong, had put himself under British protection in 1874 but it was not till the years 1885-95 that the other rulers asked for a Resident. Finally in 1895, on the election of Tengku Antan as Yang di-Pertuan of Negri Sembilan, one British Resident was appointed for the whole State.

Pahang came under British protection in 1888. In 1885 Frank Swettenham had been on a mission to the Sultan and had persuaded him to accept a British Agent whose main duties would be to look after the interests of British subjects in Pahang. Hugh Clifford, who was appointed Agent, found the conditions there thoroughly bad. The Sultan's rule was chiefly directed to squeezing money out of his subjects by high taxation of the necessities of life and the reckless granting of land concessions to Europeans and Chinese, regardless of whether the land in question belonged to his subjects or not. The murder of a Chinese who was a British subject led in 1888 to a demand from the Governor of the Straits Settlements that the Sultan should accept a British Resident. The Sultan agreed but a few years later some of the Pahang chiefs rebelled, largely owing to discontent with the allowances they had been given in place of their old feudal revenues. Some jungle fighting took place but by 1895 the malcontents had fled to Trengannu and Kelantan.

The Straits Settlements and Malaya

THE FEDERATED MALAY STATES

In 1896 the rulers of Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang signed a treaty for the federation of their States. This step was urged by Sir Frank Swettenham because it would give common standards of government for all four States and would make possible the best use of economic resources. In particular the wealthier States such as Perak and Selangor might help the other two. Under federation a Resident-General, responsible to a High Commissioner for the Federation (the Governor of the Straits Settlements), was appointed. The Residents remained in the States. The unified control given by federation did have some good results. It encouraged British capital to develop tin mining and rubber plantations and also made possible co-ordinated development of communications, especially railways. But the power of the rulers was diminished by federation and the tendency was continued when further centralization was brought about by the creation of a Federal Council in 1909. This Council, which made laws for the Federation, took away all important matters from the State Councils. The rulers were members of the Federal Council but no more than ordinary ones with no power of veto. In 1927 there was a reorganization of the Federal Council giving it thirteen official members (heads of departments of government), and eleven unofficial members of whom four were Malays taking the places of the rulers. This was followed by a measure of decentralization, that is, the State Councils were revived and given charge of agriculture, public health, education and public works: police, defence, customs and labour remained with the Federation.

KEDAH, PERLIS, KELANTAN AND TRENGGANU

In 1909 an Anglo-Siamese treaty was signed at Bangkok. By this Siam transferred to Great Britain her rights of 'suzerainty, protection, administration and control' over Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan and Trengganu. In return Siam received a loan to pay for the linking up of her railway system with that of Malaya. These four States received British protection and agreed to take British

Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan and Trengganu

Advisers whose powers were much less than those of the Residents in the Federated States. Thus they retained largely intact their own Malay governments, including the right of controlling their own finances. Under these circumstances they refused to enter the Federation, where their position would have been much less favourable. These States were known as the Unfederated Malay States; Johore also had this status, although the Sultan in 1885 had placed external relations under British control and had requested and accepted assistance of a British Adviser for internal affairs in 1914.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

British control of the Malay peninsula led in the twentieth century to economic and social development which has made possible the Federation of Malaya of today. A direct consequence of the establishment of law and order in the interior was large-scale immigration of peoples from outside Malaya. Labour was needed for the tin mines and developing plantation industries such as rubber; there were also opportunities for immigrants in trading, shopkeeping, smallholdings, teaching, government service, road and railway building. The greatest immigration was that of the Chinese, especially to Singapore and Johore. The rubber plantations attracted many Indians from southern India, originally on a basis of indentured service for a period of years and later as free assisted immigrants. There was also some immigration of Malaysians from Java, Sumatra and Borneo. Some of this settlement was temporary as both Chinese and Indian migrants often returned to their homelands, but the tendency more and more was for them to settle permanently. The result has been that Malaya has become a multi-racial society of Malays, Chinese and Indians.

Malaya is fortunate in that she produces two major commodities—tin and rubber—which are in demand in the world's markets. It was the wealth these produced that enabled the State governments to raise revenue for their medical, health, educational and other services. The development of the two commodities also brought the construction of roads and railways.

The Straits Settlements and Malaya

Tin had been produced for centuries on a very small scale in Malaya. In the nineteenth century Chinese miners had come in to do small-scale mining, especially in Perak. After 1900 larger-scale operations came with British companies who used the bucket dredge. As in the case of rubber, overproduction of tin led to a restriction of output of tin by agreement between Malaya and the other world tin producers in . The tin ore mined was smelted at Penang and Singapore.

More spectacular was the rise of the Malayan rubber industry. The rubber tree was not native to Malaya and was imported from South America. In 1877 seedlings grown from the seed of the Brazilian tree *Hevea brasiliensis* were sent out from Kew to the Botanical Gardens at Singapore. Progress was slow as the European planters showed little interest, but the Director of the Botanical Gardens, Mr H. N. Ridley, persevered in his efforts from 1888 onwards. His reward came when at the beginning of the twentieth century there was an upsurge in world demand for rubber because of the growth of the electric cable industry and modern road transport—bicycles, motor-bicycles, cars, lorries—running on rubber tyres. Between 1900 and 1911 nearly a million acres of rubber were planted in Malaya which by 1918 was producing half the world supply. In Malaya about two-thirds of this was estate production with smallholders, both Chinese and Malays, accounting for the remainder. After World War I overproduction led to a quest for more efficient production; the Rubber Research Institute was set up at Kuala Lumpur in 19 and did much to encourage better methods of cultivation and the use of high-yielding trees from bud-grafted 'pedigree' stocks. Even so it was necessary to introduce a restriction scheme which was abandoned in 19 chiefly because the other great rubber producer, the Netherlands East Indies, had kept outside the scheme. The world slump of 19 made it necessary to revive restriction and this time it was more successful as the Dutch islands came in. The serious results for Malaya of the fall in the price of rubber were shown by the reduction of government revenue by half and this meant cutting the social services. After the upheaval of World War II the rubber industry soon revived and continues to be a most important part of the Federa-

Economic Development in the Twentieth Century

tion's economy. It has shown that by more efficient cultivation and by the planting of high-yielding 'pedigree' trees it can compete in the world market with increasing production of synthetic rubber.

JAPANESE CONQUEST AND OCCUPATION OF MALAYA, 1941-5

In World War II the Japanese made their long-premeditated bid for domination of Eastern Asia. The German occupation of France and the Netherlands and their invasion of Russia provided a suitable opportunity. In December 1941 after their surprise attack on the American naval base of Pearl Harbour in Hawaii and the sinking of the British warships the *Prince of Wales* and the *Repulse* in the Gulf of Siam, the Japanese had naval superiority in the Pacific. This with their air and land power enabled them to carry out a rapid occupation of the Malay peninsula and other neighbouring countries; for the British empire it culminated in the disaster of February 1942 when Singapore capitulated. For over three years the peoples of Malaya experienced the ruthless rule and exploitation by the Japanese in the interests of the 'Co-Prosperity sphere', the Chinese and British being the special objects of Japanese spite.

EVENTS AFTER LIBERATION, 1945-8

After liberation in September 1945 recovery was fairly rapid. Government and its services were revived; rubber plantations and tin mines were brought back to production. A new structure of government was introduced in April 1946—the Malayan Union. This set up one government for the whole country except Singapore which became a separate colony; the Malay rulers surrendered their sovereign rights to the Union government. This Union was a failure because it was unacceptable to the Malays, who feared that under the common citizenship provided by the Union they would become a minority dominated by the Chinese when self-government was eventually granted. After second thoughts the British government abandoned the Union plan, substituting a Federation. In this the powers of government were shared between the Federal

The British West Indies, 1763-1960

islands. There was also strong competition from the French islands in the Caribbean. A crisis would probably have been reached before the nineteenth century had it not been for the war of American Independence and the wars against the French Revolution and Napoleon, which encouraged sugar production by high prices in European markets.

ABSENTEEISM OF THE ENGLISH PLANTERS

The social structure of the British islands was considerably affected by the absenteeism of the plantation owners. When profits were good from sugar they preferred to live in style and comfort in England. The absence of the proprietor from his plantation adversely affected the management of his plantation, which was now left to the mercy of attorneys or overseers who treated the slaves badly or in many cases defrauded their employers. The decline of the white population in the British islands was on an increasing scale as the following examples show: in Montserrat there were 1314 whites in 1772; by 1811 they had declined to 444; in Dominica 3850 in 1773 which by 1829 had declined to 805. By contrast in the French West India islands there were many French proprietors whose permanent residence had a good effect on the production of sugar and the general conduct of affairs.

Government in the British islands was adversely affected by this absenteeism which meant there were not enough people of education or standing for membership of the Council and Assembly. The situation was well summed up by Governor Elliot of the Leeward Islands when writing to the Earl of Liverpool in 1810:

Of the few white inhabitants who remain, managers, overseers, self-created lawyers, self-educated physicians, and adventurous merchants, with little real capital and scanty credit, compose the greatest part. To collect from such a state of society, men fit to be legislators, judges, or jurymen is perfectly impracticable. Individual interest, personal influence, animosity of party feuds, weigh down the scale of justice and divert the course of legislative authority into acts of arbitrary and unjustifiable powers cloaked under the semblance, and dignified with the name, of constitutional acts.

The British West Indies, 1763-1960

THE 'WEST INDIA INTEREST'

The absentee planters living in England combined with the West India merchants there to form a powerful political lobby, as they had the money to buy themselves seats in the House of Commons. Here they could take action against legislation that might adversely affect their interests. They could also press for measures which would directly help them, such as the Molasses Act of 1733 which tried to stop the trade in molasses carried on by the American colonies with the French West India islands. In 1764 they were able to secure the passage of the Sugar Act which enabled the British islands to export their sugar direct to certain European countries. Their defence of the slave trade and slavery has already been mentioned. At the Peace of Paris in 1763 the West India interest prevented the annexation of Guadeloupe and Martinique because these French islands were cheap sugar producers whose competition in the British market was against the interests of the British sugar islands.

THE CEDED ISLANDS

By the Peace of Paris, 1763, the French had ceded the islands of Grenada, Dominica, St Vincent and Tobago, formerly known as the 'neutral' or Carib islands. Only Grenada had been settled to any extent by the French. The islands had extensive reserves of virgin land; the French had not developed much sugar growing but there was considerable production of cocoa, coffee and cotton. When these islands became British they were granted the old representative system of government of the other British West India islands. Numerous settlers came from the British islands in spite of the attempts made by these older colonies to obstruct settlement in these new possessions of the British Crown. Within a few years all four islands had been developed for sugar growing, but the production of cocoa, coffee and cotton continued on a considerable scale. To the anger of the older colonies, the ceded islands were exempt from the produce tax of 4½ per cent which had been levied since 1663. This was due to the judgement (1774) of

The British West Indies

Lord Chief Justice Mansfield in the case of *Campbell v. Hall*, where he held that owing to the grant of representative institutions to the island of Grenada it was unlawful for the Crown to exact this produce tax which could only be granted by the Assembly of Grenada, or by the Imperial Parliament.

THE BRITISH WEST INDIES AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The opposition of the American colonies to Great Britain between 1765 and 1775 was followed with sympathetic interest in the British West India islands. In the islands of St Kitts and Nevis the stamps imposed by the Stamp Act of 1765 were burned like those in New England. Elsewhere in the West Indies the Act was accepted and the duty paid. In 1775 the more radical members of the Jamaica House of Assembly sent a memorial to King George III protesting that Parliament had no right to legislate for the colonies. But the British West India islands were too dependent on the markets of Great Britain for the sale of their sugar; they did not therefore go to the extremes of the thirteen American colonies.

The British islands were far more affected by the spread of war after 1775. American privateers entered the Caribbean. In 1776 a small American expedition captured New Providence in the Bahamas. The most serious factor in the situation was that the British islands were heavily dependent on the American colonies for supplies of food and timber which soon began to dwindle; the prices of essential plantation supplies of flour, maize, salt fish, rice, lumber and oak staves doubled or trebled.

WAR IN THE CARIBBEAN, 1778-82

When Great Britain was at war with France after 1778, and with Spain and Holland after 1780, things became serious for the British islands in the Caribbean. These islands were difficult to defend if British sea power failed. Everything depended on this. As Christopher Codrington, Governor of the Leeward Islands had said: 'All turns on the mastery of the sea, if we have it our islands

War in the Caribbean, 1778-82

are safe, however thinly peopled; if the French have it we cannot raise enough men in all the islands to hold one of them.' Sea power was essential to attack the enemy naval squadrons in the Caribbean, to capture his trade and to convoy home the valuable exports from the British islands. From 1779 to 1780, this essential sea power was lacking and between 1778 and 1782 the French captured Dominica, St Vincent, Grenada, Tobago, St Kitts, Nevis, and Montserrat. The only British success was the capture of the French island of St Lucia in December 1778, valuable because of its very good harbour from which the French naval base at Fort Royal in Martinique could be watched. In February 1781 Admiral Rodney captured the Dutch island of St Eustatius, which had been used by the Dutch as a trading base to which all the enemies of Great Britain resorted, and also some unpatriotic British merchants. When he captured it there was about three million pounds worth of produce on the island and his anxiety to dispose of this diverted him from more important matters in other parts of the Caribbean.

To these calamities others were added: in 1780 and 1781 there were devastating hurricanes. The British government raised the duties payable on the import of raw sugar from the colonies into England. There were difficulties of finding markets for the growing stocks of molasses and rum. On the other hand for those planters who managed to ship their produce to Europe there were even higher prices.

THE BATTLE OF THE SAINTES, 1782

In 1782 the situation improved in the Caribbean because of Rodney's victory over the French Admiral de Grasse off the little group of islands known as the Saintes, lying in the channel between Guadeloupe and Dominica. The French were preparing to join forces with the Spanish in the Caribbean to attack Jamaica but Rodney's victory prevented this. He followed the French fleet from St Lucia and managed to gain the weather gauge. He then broke the line of his opponents and De Grasse surrendered. Unfortunately the victory was not followed up, but it saved Jamaica and the remaining British islands of Antigua and Barbados; it also

The British West Indies, 1763

helped to secure better terms of peace. By the Treaty of Versailles (1783), Great Britain recovered all her lost islands except Tobago which she ceded to France, besides restoring the French island of St Lucia.

TRADE WITH THE U.S.A.

Now that the Americans were independent, the question arose whether they could continue to trade with their former customers in the British West India islands or whether they were foreigners to whom the full force of the Navigation Acts applied. Since the West India islands depended on America for supplies of food for the slaves, and timber for building and making hogsheads in which the sugar was exported, the planters and the West India interests in Britain strongly urged that no restrictions should be placed on American shipping from entering West Indian harbours. On the other hand there was a strong body of opinion that held that America must be treated as a foreign nation and that alternative supplies for the British West Indies could be provided by Canada and Nova Scotia. As a compromise in 1783 an Order in Council was made which allowed trade between America and British West Indian ports provided that the goods that were imported or exported were carried in British or colonial ships. In 1794 a commercial treaty with the United States allowed small American vessels, not exceeding 70 tons, to trade directly with British West Indian ports. It had proved impossible to provide alternative supplies of the commodities needed by the British islands and the treaty of 1794 was a sensible arrangement. Besides the rising cost of essential plantation supplies the planters had other difficulties: the increased duty levied by Great Britain on imported raw sugar was retained and later increased, while the price of slaves had increased from an average of £34 a head to £47.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY AND NAPOLEONIC WARS IN THE CARIBBEAN

Relief for the British planters came from an unexpected quarter. The outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789 led to conflict in all

French Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars in Caribbean

the French islands between the Royalists and those white planters who supported the Revolution, with the free coloured people and slaves becoming rapidly affected by its political doctrines. The resulting confusion sharply reduced the production of sugar and in spite of the disquiet felt by the British planters about the spread of revolutionary doctrines and the possible fear that it might affect their own slaves, they could not but rejoice at the removal of their greatest competitor in European markets. Over the next ten years the export of their produce greatly increased; sugar nearly doubled in amount, while coffee rose by four times.

Revolutionary France declared war on Great Britain in February 1793. In the war that followed in the Caribbean there was a determined British military and naval effort, with help from the French Royalists, to capture the French colonies. A major difficulty was the climate which, with its tropical diseases such as yellow fever, carried off far more troops than were killed by the enemy's bullets. British troops were landed in Santo Domingo in September 1793 and an attempt was made which lasted until 1798 to occupy this island. It finally failed owing to the climate and the opposition of the Negro general, Toussaint l'Ouverture. Elsewhere there was more success: in 1794 Martinique, Guadeloupe and St Lucia were captured. Later in the year the situation changed. The French sent out Victor Hugues, a capable but blood-thirsty revolutionary. He recaptured Guadeloupe and from there sent out missions to stir up the French population and runaway slaves in the former French islands of Dominica, Grenada and St Vincent. In 1795 St Lucia was taken by the French; recovery came in 1796 when Sir Ralph Abercromby arrived. He put down the rebellions stirred up by Hugues in Grenada and St Vincent and also recaptured St Lucia. In 1795 Holland fell under control of the French Revolution and declared war on Britain, who sent an expedition to capture the Dutch colonies in the Caribbean. The most important were Demerara and Berbice in South America; both were important sugar producers. In 1796 Spain declared war on Great Britain, largely because of her interference in Santo Domingo, which Spain still regarded as partly belonging to her. This led to the capture of the Spanish island of Trinidad in 1797.

The British West Indies, 1763

At the Peace of Amiens in March 1802, there was a restoration of all conquests in the Caribbean except Trinidad which was retained by Great Britain. Some of the success of Great Britain was due to her West India regiments. These were first raised in 1795, and were recruited from free Negroes or purchased slaves, and commanded by white officers. They were successful because they could stand the climate which had proved so deadly to white troops. The number of West India regiments was increased to twelve by 1799.

When war was resumed against Napoleon in May 1803 the British were quickly off the mark in the Caribbean. In the same year they recaptured St Lucia and Tobago and in 1804 the Dutch colonies of Demerara, Essequibo, Berbice and Surinam. The only success the French had in the Caribbean was in 1805 when they were able to concentrate a strong naval force in this area. This was part of Napoleon's design for securing the naval supremacy necessary for an invasion of Great Britain. The French Admiral Missiessy took ransoms from Dominica, St Kitts, Nevis and Montserrat. He was followed to the Caribbean by Admiral Villeneuve, who contemplated attacking Barbados but hurried off when he heard Nelson was approaching. After that the British had it all their own way. In 1807 they took the Dutch island of Curaçao and the Danish islands of St Thomas, St John and St Croix. In 1809 the French settlement in Guiana, Cayenne, defended by Victor Hugues, was taken. This was followed by the capture in 1809 of Martinique. Finally, in 1810, the last French island uncaptured, Guadeloupe, was taken, and also the remaining Dutch islands of St Martin, Saba and St Eustatius. At the Peace of Paris (1814) Great Britain retained Tobago and St Lucia, but gave back the other French islands. The Danish and Dutch islands were restored but Demerara and its dependencies were annexed.

ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES DURING THE NAPOLEONIC WARS

During the later stages of the Napoleonic wars after 1807 the British islands suffered severe fluctuations in prosperity and had to contend with many difficulties. Napoleon's continental system,

Economic Difficulties during the Napoleonic Wars

which aimed at closing European markets to British exports, was fairly successful in its earlier stages in preventing exports of sugar. Because of this restriction of markets the price of sugar fell. The cost of production, freight and insurance, plus duty on entry into Great Britain was so high that it left only a very bare profit of three or four shillings on each hundredweight produced. It was clear that sugar growing was not now a profitable investment for most of the British planters. The result was a mounting tide of debts which led to mortgaging of estates and in some cases abandonment of cultivation. Another blow to the British West Indies sugar interests was competition from the East Indies; sugar now was reaching Britain from the captured island of Mauritius and also from British India. In Latin America, Cuba and Brazil were intensifying sugar production. Further, the produce of the conquered colonies in the Caribbean such as St Lucia, Demerara and Trinidad were also competing in the British market. The plantations also suffered a shortage of food and supplies after 1807, largely due to the embargo placed by the United States on shipping these stores to the British islands. This was in retaliation for the British navy's interception and search of American ships carrying cargoes of sugar to Europe. After 1811, when the continental system of Napoleon virtually collapsed, things improved for a few years. There was a sharp rise in the price of sugar and coffee and this led to increased exports from the British islands. But when peace was established in 1815 this prosperity quickly collapsed. Both the British and European markets were glutted with sugar and both were in the grip of economic depression which forced down the prices of tropical produce.

DECLINE OF THE PLANTATION SYSTEM AFTER 1815

In the years between 1815 and 1833 the old plantation system based on slave labour operated under increasing difficulties. The abolition of the slave trade had made it impossible to recruit labour by import of fresh slaves. There were revolts by slaves who thought that freedom had been unlawfully withheld from them. These took place in Barbados in 1816, in Demerara in 1823 (a rising which led

The British West Indies, 1763

to the martyrdom of the Reverend John Smith, a missionary), and in Jamaica in 1831-2. The planters blamed these revolts on the propaganda of the Society for the Abolition of Slavery and also on the work of the local missionaries, particularly those of the Non-conformist denominations. Economically the old difficulties persisted: low prices in European markets and high cost of production. The financial difficulties of the planters steadily increased; the value of their plantations depreciated and this made it difficult to raise loans by mortgage of them. Merchants in Britain were reluctant to extend further credit to the planters because of the huge total of their existing debts. The home government made some attempt to help them when it enacted in 1822 a Colonial Trade Act which modified the Navigation Acts to the extent that the British sugar islands could ship their produce direct to foreign ports, and it opened some ports in the British West India islands to the ships of foreign countries. Some improvement followed as the result of this but in 1825 a blow followed for the West Indian interest. Mauritius was allowed to export its sugar to Great Britain at the same rate of duty payable on West Indian sugar; in 1836 the rate of duty was also equalized for sugar from British India. Politically the West Indian planters were under heavy pressure; they were attacked by the propaganda of the Society for the Abolition of Slavery and the planters could not make an effective reply. There was a growing feeling that the West India islands were no longer important and that there were other parts of the empire that deserved more attention, particularly in the East. The issue of slavery entered into the movement for the Reform Bill of 1832; the Whig majority in the Parliament that was elected was in favour of abolition of slavery.

THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY, 1833-8

The Abolition of Slavery Act of 1833 ordered a period of apprenticeship for the ex-slaves. This was to be four years for the household slaves and six years for the field slaves (see also chapter 13). One island, Antigua, abolished apprenticeship and granted full freedom in 1834. Special magistrates were appointed and sent out from

The Abolition of Slavery, 1833-8

Great Britain to supervise the working of this apprenticeship system; the situation was difficult and disorders were expected. These magistrates were to be guardians of the public peace and were to arbitrate between planter and ex-slave. In particular they were to see that the ex-slaves, now apprentices, received their legal rights and that they were not oppressed in any way by their former masters. The planters were somewhat hostile towards the scheme and tended to overwork their apprentices and in some cases to deprive them of the customary free food and clothing. The special magistrates did a great work; many wore themselves out in unending journeys from plantation to plantation to investigate the complaints of apprentices or their employers. There were many disputes about the wages that the apprentice should be paid for work done in his spare time. The apprenticeship system ended in 1838, sooner than fixed by the Act of 1833, partly because in this year the house slaves received their full freedom and partly because the planters found the system unsatisfactory. They now realized that free labour which was paid a wage would be more satisfactory and productive.

THE PROBLEM OF A LABOUR SUPPLY

After emancipation one of the most pressing problems was that of a labour supply. When the ex-slaves received full freedom in 1838, many of them, in islands like Trinidad and Jamaica where there was surplus land, refused to work on the old plantations, even for a wage. They moved away, either bought small plots of land or squatted on vacant lands and raised their own food. In islands where land was scarce, such as Barbados, the labour problem was easier, for the ex-slaves had no alternative but to work for a wage on the plantations. To the difficulties of bargaining with the ex-slaves for their labour, another one was added for the planters when in 1846 the British Parliament enacted the Sugar Duties Act. By this the duties paid on foreign grown and colonial grown sugar were gradually to be equalized; by 1852 the West Indian colonies would lose their old preferential advantage over foreign grown sugars. Unless the West Indian planters could compete with rival

The British West Indies, 1763

sugar producers, they could not survive at all. It meant that wages would have to be reduced and if labour was lacking then it must come from outside the British West Indies. There had been various attempts, almost all unsuccessful, to import labour from Europe and elsewhere in the first half of the nineteenth century, for example, Scots, Irish, Portuguese from the island of Madeira, and some West Africans who had been rescued by the British navy anti-slavery patrol from slavers still trading with those countries which had not yet abolished slavery. Jamaica, Trinidad and British Guiana were the colonies which most required labour. In the 1860's an attempt was made to bring in Chinese labourers but this was not a success. Eventually a solution to the labour problem was found by bringing in labourers from British India. During the next sixty years several hundred thousand immigrants came from India to the West Indies where they served under a contract of service, usually for five years, and this gave the planters a reasonably assured supply of labour. Some of the immigrants returned to their native land after their contract of service had ended but many more stayed in their new homes, particularly in Trinidad, British Guiana and Jamaica. This introduced a new element of Asian people into the community of the West Indies.

THE STRUGGLE TO COMPETE

Faced with the competition from cane sugar from all over the world and in addition from the growing beet sugar industry of Europe, the British West India islands made desperate attempts to reorganize their economy on a competitive basis. Some islands, St Kitts, Antigua, Barbados and Trinidad, and the mainland colony of British Guiana managed this because of their fertile soils and good labour supply. Others including Jamaica failed to do so and their sugar production declined with an increasing number of plantations going out of cultivation. The struggle was hard with fierce competition from big producers particularly in Cuba and Louisiana, who had the advantages of large-scale production, the use of modern machinery based on steam power and a constant labour force, although this was a slave one. The British planters

The Struggle to Compete

lacked the money to buy this modern equipment. In another direction, the results of this economic struggle were unfortunate. The British islands were so impoverished that little money could be found for basic social services such as education, hospitals, poor relief. In the 1850's epidemics of cholera ravaged many of the British West Indian islands. To prevent the recurrence of such epidemics better medical and sanitary services and better water supplies were needed and for these the islands had not the money.

THE CRISIS IN GOVERNMENT

Besides economic difficulties a crisis in government developed in the British West Indies, due to the unsatisfactory nature of the old representative system with Governor, Council and Assembly. The trouble was the Assembly, which was planter-dominated, and reflected the bitter, sullen views of these men. For many years Jamaica had taken the lead in opposition to its Governor and the policy of the British government. In 1838 a crisis arose over the enforcement of the Prisons Act, whereby the control and regulation of the prisons in all the British islands was placed in the hands of the Governor. The Jamaica Assembly reacted violently and the British government nearly suspended the Jamaica constitution. A compromise, however, was reached, but this did not allay the suspicion of the Assembly. In 1854 steps were made to bring about a more responsible form of government and to bridge the gap between the Assembly and the Governor. In this year an experiment was tried of a Privy Council and an Executive Committee, the latter being composed of three members of the Assembly and one from the Legislative Council. The system, however, in Jamaica was a failure, largely due to the bitter opposition of the Assembly. Another trouble was the very narrow franchise. In the island of St Kitts with about 20,000 people, white and coloured, only 166 had the vote in 1856, and in that year 47 voters actually elected 22 members. In Jamaica in 1863, with nearly 500,000 people, there were only about 1800 voters.

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THE INTRODUCTION OF CROWN COLONY GOVERNMENT AFTER 1866

Poverty and distress led in October 1865 to a large-scale riot in Jamaica, known as the Morant Bay Rebellion. In this a number of rioters attacked a courthouse and murdered some of the magistrates. The Governor of Jamaica, Eyre, put down this rising with the greatest severity and some five hundred people lost their lives. Many were flogged and over a thousand houses destroyed. A coloured member of the Assembly, George William Gordon, who had been active in criticism of Governor Eyre, was tried by court martial for alleged complicity in the rising although at the time he had been far away from the scene of it. He was condemned to death and executed—one of the most indefensible measures of Governor Eyre. The rising led to a final crisis in government. The Jamaica House of Assembly took the drastic step of voting an end to its own long existence, surrendering its powers to the Crown. In 1866 by an Order in Council made under authority of an Act of the Imperial Parliament, the Queen provided for the government of Jamaica. This was Crown Colony government by a Governor with a Legislative Council consisting of six officials and a number of nominated members. The example of Jamaica was followed by most of the other islands. Within fifteen years the old constitutions of Governor, Council and Assembly had been replaced by Governor and a nominated or partly nominated Legislative Council. Only Barbados, the Bahamas and Bermuda retained their old system of government. The substitution of Crown Colony government undoubtedly led to better-quality administration although all the islands were seriously handicapped by lack of revenue. Thus in Jamaica the successor of Eyre, Sir John Peter Grant, reformed the system of justice and set up a unified police force in the island. A medical service was organized, roads improved by a newly formed public works department, and irrigation schemes started.

The British West Indies, 1763

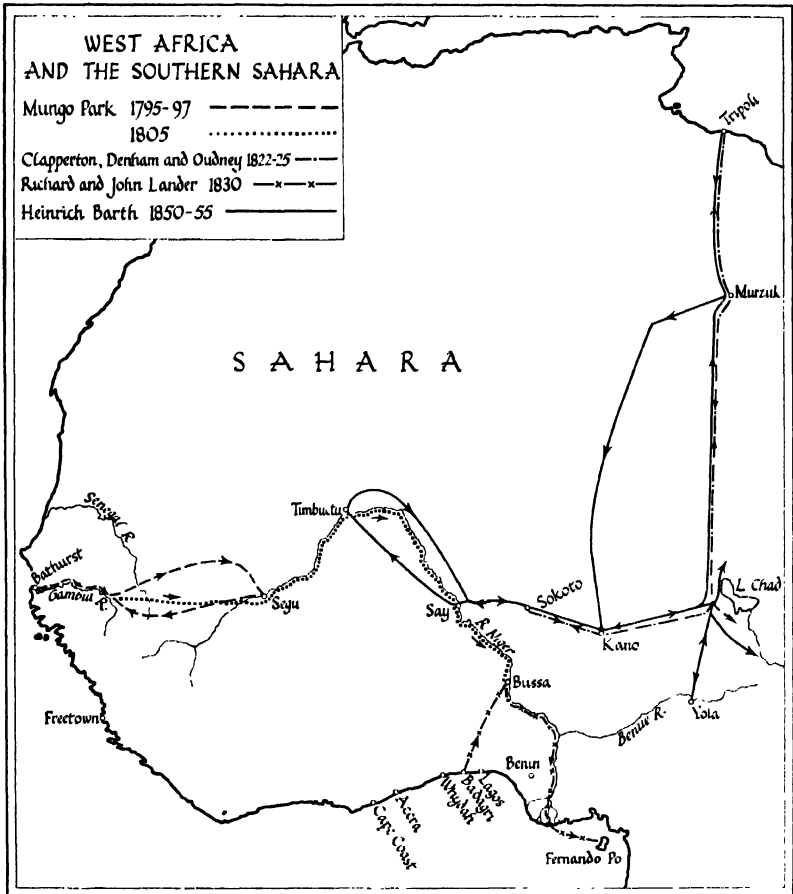
ATTEMPTS AT FEDERATION

With the aim of reducing duplicated administration and so saving money, the imperial government attempted federation of the smaller islands. The Leeward Islands Federation Act of 1871 formed Antigua, Dominica, Montserrat, St Kitts, Nevis and Virgin Islands into one colony with one governor. Intense local loyalties prevented this federation having a common treasury and although there was unified administration of law and order, justice, education and posts, the individual islands kept their right to give their consent to each measure that was proposed in the Legislative Council. The attempt to federate the Windward Islands of Grenada, St Lucia, St Vincent and Tobago together with Barbados failed because of the strenuous opposition of Barbados, which was proud of its old form of government and determined to retain it. All that was achieved in 1885 was to give the Windward Islands, excluding Barbados, a Governor in common.

THE ROYAL COMMISSIONS OF 1882 AND 1896

The need to revive prosperity in the British West Indies led to royal commissions in 1882 and 1896. The latter was the more important although that of 1882 pointed out the need to diversify the economy of the islands. This had been done already to some extent; in the 1870's bananas became an important crop in Jamaica, where they could be grown by smallholders. Some islands, such as Grenada and St Vincent, were not entirely dependent on sugar; for example, cocoa was grown in Grenada and arrowroot in St Vincent. The royal commission of 1896 was inspired by the energetic Secretary of State for the Colonies, Joseph Chamberlain, who wanted to develop the resources of the empire. The commission of 1896 recommended that only certain islands such as Barbados, Antigua and St Kitts should concentrate on sugar production; in the other islands a variety of crops should be grown. To this end it proposed land-settlement schemes to increase the number of smallholders; agricultural departments and research stations to investigate plant diseases and to distribute their informa-

British Tropical Africa



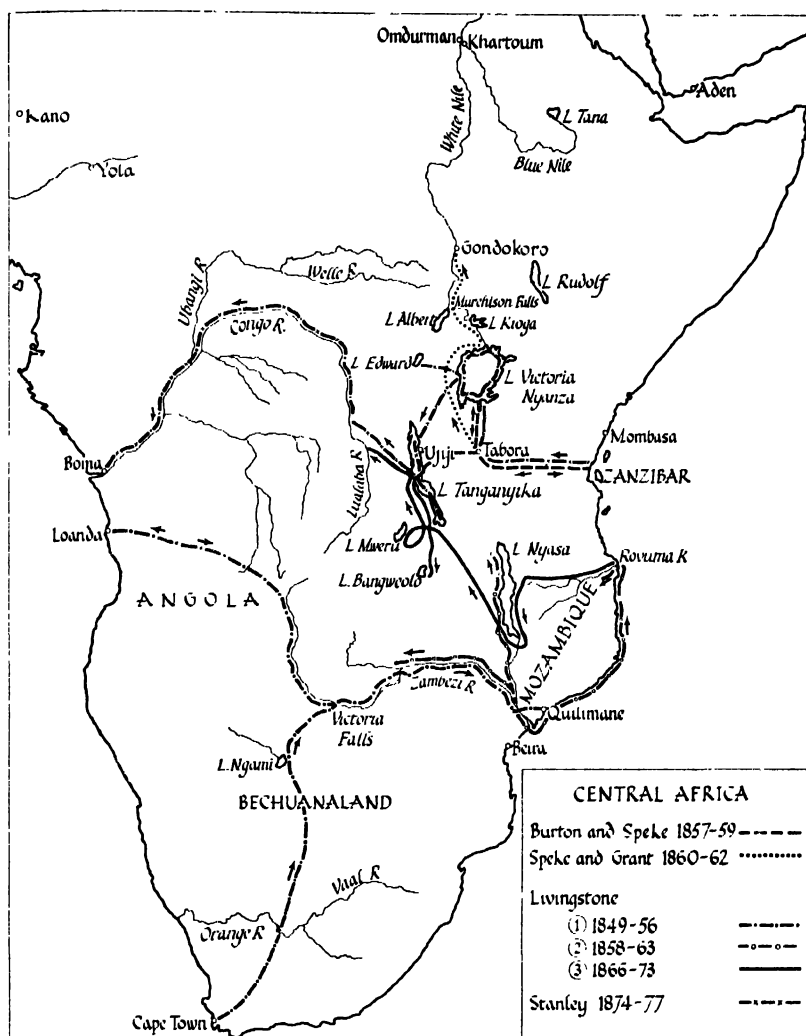
MAP 13. (a) AFRICAN DISCOVERY: WEST AFRICA AND THE
SOUTHERN SAHARA

abolition of the slave trade on the high seas and also the emancipation of slaves in the British empire, now wished to continue their crusade into the interior of Africa and to stop the slave trade at its sources there.

The exploration of the Niger, 1795-1830

The British contribution to the discovery of the interior of Africa started with the travels of James Bruce who, in 1768, travelled extensively in Abyssinia. His aim was to discover the source of the

African Discovery in the Nineteenth Century



MAP 13. (b) AFRICAN DISCOVERY: CENTRAL AFRICA

Nile, a problem that had mystified people since the days of the ancient geographers such as Ptolemy. Bruce located the source of the Blue Nile in Abyssinia, although this had been known to the Jesuit missionaries who had penetrated this country in the early years of the seventeenth century. In 1788 the African Association

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was founded in Great Britain whose special interest was the Niger river, where it rose, flowed, and where it finally entered the sea. In 1795 the Association sent out Mungo Park. Starting from Bathurst in the Gambia, Park travelled eastwards, reached the river Niger and established that it flowed in an easterly direction. Subsequently he made a second journey in 1805, with the aim of sailing down the river to its mouth. He sailed for about three-quarters of the way but was drowned after a fight with the inhabitants at Bussa (1806). In 1822 the source of the Niger was found by Laing. In 1823 an expedition was sent, led by Clapperton with two companions, Denham and Oudney. Starting from the north coast of Africa at Tripoli it crossed the Sahara and discovered Lake Chad and visited the towns of Kano and Sokoto. In 1825 Clapperton, accompanied by Lander, made a second expedition with the object of opening up trade with the Sultan of Sokoto. Clapperton died in 1827; Lander in 1830 finally solved the mystery of the Niger when he sailed down the river from Bussa to its mouth. More detailed information about the southern Sahara was established by an expedition sent out by the British government in 1849. The surviving member of this expedition was a German, Heinrich Barth, who spent over five years in the southern Sahara. He visited the cities of Kano, Sokoto and Timbuktu, and discovered the Upper Benue river. After being given up for lost, he returned across the Sahara to Tripoli in North Africa.

The Source of the White Nile, 1857-64

From earliest times much had been written about the great river Nile, of its ever regular floods which gave fertility to the land of Egypt and nourished mighty civilizations. But, like the Niger, its exact source was not known. The ancient geographers believed that the river had its source in the 'Mountains of the Moon' deep in the heart of Africa. Others thought that the river issued from some great lake in the interior. It was the quest for these great lakes that brought the two explorers Richard Burton and John Speke to the east coast of Africa in the year 1857. After a difficult journey of nearly eight months following the Arab slavers' route into the interior, they reached a great lake—Tanganyika, in February 1858.

African Discovery in the Nineteenth Century

In the same year, Speke, travelling by himself, struck north from Tabora, where he had left Burton, and reached the greatest of the African lakes which he called Victoria Nyanza. Speke, although he had no definite proof, thought that he had found the source of the White Nile in this lake. His claim was disputed by many, including the jealous Burton, who maintained that Lake Tanganyika was the true source of the river. But Speke proved that he was right by his journey of 1860-2 with Grant. The two explorers started from Zanzibar and struck north-west to the western side of Lake Victoria. From there they came to the kingdoms of Uganda: finally in July 1862 Speke discovered the Ripon Falls at the northern side of the lake, where the White Nile issued forth. Speke and Grant then tried to trace the course of the White Nile northwards but were only able to do this for a short way. That part of the course of the White Nile after it left Lake Victoria which Speke had been unable to follow was traced by Samuel Baker. Approaching from the Sudan in 1866 he discovered Lake Albert, into which the White Nile entered and then flowed out again on its way through the Sudan and Egypt.

The Explorations of Livingstone, 1849-73

Geographical knowledge of Central Africa was greatly increased by the journeys of David Livingstone between 1849 and 1873. His first journey took him from Bechuanaland to the middle Zambezi. From there he followed the river towards its source and crossed over the Congo watershed to Loanda in Portuguese West Africa. From Loanda he returned to the Zambezi in its middle course and sailing downstream discovered the Victoria Falls in November 1855. He ended this first journey on the east coast in Portuguese East Africa. On his second journey between 1858 and 1863, Livingstone sailed up the Zambezi from its mouth to test its suitability for navigation by steamships and reached Tete. From there he struck north to find in 1859 the third great lake of Africa, Lake Nyasa, and also explored the course of the Shiré river which flowed out of this lake. On his last journey from 1866 to 1873, Livingstone struck deep into Central Africa. It seems that his geographical aim was to find a source of the White Nile, in spite

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of the discoveries that had been made by Speke, Grant and Baker. Refusing to be rescued by the expedition led by H. M. Stanley in 1871, who found him at Ujiji, Livingstone in 1872 went to the country south-west of Lake Tanganyika where he died in April 1873.

More than any other African explorer, Livingstone put Africa as a reality before the British people in his writings and speeches. He gave them a clear picture and awakened their interest; in particular he insisted on the need for Christianity and civilization to reach Africa to eliminate the hideous slave trade activities which he himself only too often had witnessed in the interior of Africa. These slaving activities were those of the Arab slave traders who were penetrating further and further inland from their east coast headquarters at Zanzibar.

Stanley and the Congo

Much had been discovered by the time of Livingstone's death but much remained unknown in Africa, and besides this the earlier discoveries needed confirmation. The last great African discoverer was H. M. Stanley, the American journalist who had sought Livingstone. In November 1874, Stanley left Zanzibar at the head of a large and well-equipped expedition; in February 1875 he reached Lake Victoria Nyanza and he sailed round this lake which proved the description that Speke had given some years earlier. He then visited the important Kabaka Mtesa or ruler of the wealthy kingdom of Uganda at his capital Rubaja. Stanley was impressed by the fertile countryside which he thought only needed Christianity and commerce to civilize it. From Uganda he moved south to Lake Tanganyika. He reached Ujiji in May 1876, sailed round the lake in a voyage lasting fifty days and proved that the only river running out of it was the Lukuga. He next turned his attention to the problem of the river Lualaba which Livingstone on his last journey had thought might be one of the headwaters of the White Nile. In November 1876 Stanley, with the assistance of an Arab merchant and slave trader, Tippoo Tib, set out to trace the course of this river. The expedition struck into heavily forested and snake-infested country. A fortnight later Stanley, with thirty companions,

African Discovery in the Nineteenth Century

sailed down the river, constantly attacked by cannibal tribes. He came to a series of seven cataracts, now known as Stanley Falls, past which he had to portage his boats. The river now turned westwards and this told Stanley that it could not be the Nile. It was another great river which the natives called the Congo. Driven on by the iron leadership of Stanley and suffering from famine, illness and native attacks, the remnants of the expedition at last reached the lower Congo which, in 1816, had been visited by an expedition from the sea under Captain Tuckey. At the time the significance of Stanley's discovery of this river was disregarded by the great European powers, especially Britain. He urged that Britain should take control of this great Congo basin, with its untold wealth. It was left for King Leopold II, king of the Belgians, to set up the International African Association, which within ten years, established the Congo Free State, afterwards the Belgian Congo.

2. BRITISH WEST AFRICA

British slave stations in West Africa

Like the other European nations, Britain had been attracted to the west coast of Africa by the slave trade. In 1700 her slave-trading interests were well-established in West Africa. She had a strong foothold on the Gold Coast at Cape Coast Castle and also a station on the estuary of the river Gambia. The trade was controlled by the Royal Africa Company until 1750, when it was dissolved and its place taken by the 'Company of Merchants trading to West Africa'. In the second half of the eighteenth century the British predominance in the slave trade was well-established, for they carried far more slaves than their French and Dutch rivals. In the Seven Years War the French settlements along the Senegal estuary had been captured and they were combined with the Gambia in a Crown Colony known as Senegambia. An attempt to organize this as a proper colony with Governor and Council was a failure and after the war of American Independence the Senegal parts were restored to France, although Britain retained her foothold on the Gambia river.

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The foundation of Sierra Leone, 1787-1808

It was the wish to settle homeless ex-slaves that led Granville Sharp to attempt the foundation of a colony in Africa, but the beginnings of this were not very successful. In 1791 Granville Sharp reinforced his original effort by founding the Sierra Leone Company, which by successful trading he hoped would bring prosperity to the colony. As the original settlers had been dispersed by hostile Africans the remnants were regrouped and reinforced by over a thousand ex-slaves from Nova Scotia. The town of Freetown was established; a Governor and Council were appointed, Zachary Macaulay being Governor from 1794 to 1799. In 1800 the Company was granted a royal charter and also a subsidy for the expenses of administration. Even so the settlement and company had very limited success and the future of Sierra Leone was only assured by the events of 1807-8 when the slave trade was abolished. Sierra Leone now became a Crown Colony because the British government was ready to use Sierra Leone as a naval base for its anti-slave-trade patrols in West African waters. Slavers captured by the British navy were brought into Freetown where their cargoes of slaves were freed, many of them settling in the colony.

The West African Settlements, 1821-50

When the slave trade was abolished in 1808 British opinion towards the West African stations underwent considerable change; there now seemed little point in maintaining forts on the Gambia and the Gold Coast, but Sierra Leone was justified by its part in suppressing the slave trade. The British government seems to have been in two minds about it. On the one hand there was the expense involved, on the other there was the pressure of public opinion against the slave trade. In spite of British naval patrols, and the fact that other countries besides Britain had abolished the trade, much slaving persisted. If Great Britain left West Africa altogether this illegal trade might be encouraged to flourish still further. By staying there she might be able to check the evil. This may have decided the British government in 1821 to abolish the company of West African Merchants and to assume control of its forts and

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settlements on the Gambia and the Gold Coast by placing them under the control of the Governor of Sierra Leone.

At this time the warlike Ashanti were threatening the coastal peoples and the European settlements; in 1824 Sir Charles Macarthy, Governor of Sierra Leone, was defeated and killed in a battle with the Ashantis on the Gold Coast. This setback made the British government change its mind and it then instructed its Governor of Sierra Leone not to undertake to protect the peoples on the Gold Coast from the Ashantis. It also gave the order to abandon the Gold Coast forts. This decision proved unpopular with British merchant interests who persuaded the British government to give them control over the forts at Cape Coast Castle and Accra and also an annual subsidy of about £4000 a year for their maintenance. In 1830 Captain George Maclean was appointed President of the Council governing the forts. His aim was to bring peace to the disturbed coastal area between the coast and the hinterland occupied by the Ashantis. If this could be done peaceful trade would flourish for the benefit of British and Africans. He therefore made treaties between the Ashantis and the British and the coastal states. He also did something to promote law and order in the coastal States by introducing ideas of British justice and by the abolition of barbarous customs such as human sacrifice. Maclean had no right to extend British jurisdiction outside the area of the forts on the Coast, but his policy was successful, leading to a great increase of trade within ten years. It was a striking illustration of the policy of increasing trade by giving peace and security as had been done by the East India Company in India. Maclean's work had many critics who accused him of allowing the continuation of slave trading, but in 1842 a parliamentary committee praised him for the good work he had done. The committee recommended that the British government should resume occupation of the Gold Coast forts, re-establish its authority there, and regulate its relations with the native peoples immediately behind this area.

In 1843 the British forts on the Gold Coast were placed under a Lieutenant-Governor responsible to the Governor of Sierra Leone. An important step was now taken of making treaties with the native tribes on this coast, and these were negotiated by Maclean,

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who was now Chief Justice. Eleven treaties in all were made, the most important point being that they granted the British the right to exercise jurisdiction over the African peoples of this coastal area. The African chieftains undertook to protect individuals and property and to abolish barbarous customs. These treaties or 'Bonds' gave Britain a virtual protectorate over the coastal areas; the Africans now began to look to the British for other services of government but the great difficulty was the lack of revenue for any extension of government activities. In 1850 the British forts on the Gold Coast were made independent of Sierra Leone and given their own Governor, Executive Council, and nominated Legislative Council. At the same time the British purchased the Danish forts on the coast, thus extending their influence, which prevented the Ashanti peoples of the hinterland from exporting slaves through the Gold Coast.

Lagos, 1851-61

The attention of the British was now drawn eastwards to the slave coast where large exports of slaves took place from Whydah and Lagos. A disputed succession in Lagos enabled the British Consul at Fernando Po to intervene. The rightful claimant to Lagos promised that if he was restored he would prohibit the slave trade. In 1851 a British naval squadron captured Lagos. The lawful claimant was restored and kept his promise as far as he could about the prohibition of the slave trade. British merchants began to settle at Lagos and a British Consul was appointed in 1853. As slave trading still continued and the ruler was not powerful enough to put it down, Lagos was annexed in 1861 to the British Crown. Thus started the British interest in that part of West Africa afterwards to become the great State of Nigeria.

The extension of British power in the Gold Coast, 1867-1900

In the 1860's Great Britain once again had misgivings about her West African settlements. A parliamentary committee in 1865 recommended that these should be given up except Sierra Leone. There was adverse criticism of our undertakings towards the Fante peoples of the coastal area because of the realization that to defend them against the Ashantis would be a costly business. In the end

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a compromise was reached whereby Gambia, the Gold Coast forts, and Lagos were placed under Sierra Leone and in the Gold Coast the British footholds were limited strictly to the immediate localities of the five forts on this coast. Shortly afterwards the situation was changed by the decision of the Dutch to leave the Gold Coast and to sell their interests to the British. This suited British policy because control of all the forts on the Coast would mean that sufficient revenue would be forthcoming to make the colony more self-supporting. In 1872 the Dutch handed over Elmina and their other forts to the British. Meanwhile over thirty of the coastal States had joined together in the Fante Confederation for defence against the Ashantis and also to provide themselves with some of the services of government. In 1873 the Ashantis invaded the protected coastal area and the British were obliged at long last to take decisive action against these warlike people. A field force under Sir Garnet Wolseley was sent to the Gold Coast. He advanced into the Ashanti country early in 1874 and entered the capital Kumasi in February of that year. Peace terms given to the Ashantis involved an indemnity, renunciation of claims of overlordship over certain of the coastal States, and promises to keep open the trading routes and to abolish human sacrifice. After this success the policy of reducing commitments was reversed and in July 1874 it was decided that the protected States on the Gold Coast should be annexed and together with Lagos they should be made into a new Crown Colony independent of Sierra Leone. Although this annexation was disliked by the Fante Confederation it was necessary if Great Britain was to give these people the government and defence they needed. Twenty years later the British advance into the Gold Coast was continued because of a revival of the aggressive aims of the Ashantis who were seeking to re-establish their domination over the coastal States which had been lost in 1874. In 1896 without fighting the Ashantis were forced to accept a British protectorate and a British resident at Kumasi. In 1900 there was a revolt due to the tactless demand of the Governor of the Gold Coast for the surrender by the Ashantis of the golden stool on which their kings were enthroned. This led to considerable fighting but at its conclusion the Ashanti states

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were annexed and became a Crown colony. Beyond Ashanti to the north a British protectorate was set up over the Northern territories in 1898. This was partly due to the need to check the advance of the French from the Niger on the north and also because of German activities on the flank in Togoland.

The Berlin Conference, 1884

In the last twenty years of the nineteenth century the position in Africa was greatly influenced by the scramble for colonies by the major European powers. For this there were four main reasons: national prestige, strategic bases, the search for tropical raw materials and markets for manufactured products. In the past Africa had been open generally to traders and missionaries from all nations, and the British had excelled as both. The European powers now claimed something more definite, the right to mark out exclusive areas as colonies. In 1884 a conference was held in Berlin by the European powers interested in Africa; their most important decision was that no new annexation or protectorate on the African coastline would be recognised unless it was made effective by the power claiming it. In 1890 this principle was extended to the interior of Africa, and this meant that any power claiming any part of Africa would have to set up its official administration in that area.

The beginnings of British Nigeria, 1885-1900

It was necessary for Great Britain to act under the terms of the Berlin agreement to secure the position on the Niger Delta where her trading interests were considerable. The area was known as 'Oil Rivers' because of the considerable trade in palm oil used extensively for the manufacture of candles and soap. The palm kernels from which the oil was crushed were traded by the chiefs of the interior of this area. In 1885 the British government proclaimed its protectorate over this area, running from the coast at Lagos to the Cameroons; in 1893 the Oil Rivers Protectorate was re-named the Niger Coast Protectorate. Already in this area, under the direction of Sir George Goldie, British trading interests had joined together to form the National African Company in 1882. This was to prevent them being driven out of the Delta by rival

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companies of other nations, notably the French. By 1885 they had consolidated their position and bought out the rival French companies. Goldie now began to work for a charter for the Company which should give it powers of government, not only in the Delta area, but inland as well. In 1886 this Charter was granted and the Company took the name of the Royal Niger Company.

In 1886 Lagos was separated from the Gold Coast and became a colony on its own. During the 1890's the British had extended their control inland from Lagos over the region inhabited by the Yoruba people; by 1896 most Yoruba land was a Protectorate under Lagos. With the coast and the immediate inland area under British control, the next step was to make contact with the States further inland on the plateau. In this work the Royal Niger Company played a leading part. The chief danger was that of French control being established over the northern Emirates. In spite of an agreement by which they undertook not to advance beyond the Middle Niger, a few years later the French began to put pressure on the Emirates of the north-western part of Nigeria. In 1894 the Company sent Captain Lugard to place Borgu under its protection. In 1897 the Fulani rulers of Ilorin and Nupe were brought under the control of the Company. In 1897 the West African Frontier Force was raised to defend the British position against the French in this part of Nigeria. In 1898 the western and northern boundaries of Nigeria were marked out by agreement between the British and French.

The work of government and defence of the great area of northern Nigeria was too much for a chartered company whose interests were mainly commercial. In 1899 the charter of the Royal Niger Company was revoked and the British government took over all the Company's administrative and political responsibility. The Company kept its commercial rights and continued as a trading corporation. By 1900 the outline of modern Nigeria was taking shape. There were three distinct colonies, the Colony and Protectorate of Lagos, the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria created out of the Niger Coast Protectorate, and the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria which was placed under Lugard as High Commissioner.

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Lugard in Northern Nigeria, 1901-7

When Lugard took over in this great area, there were many powerful rulers, especially in the north, who defied the British rule that slave trading should be prohibited. The only way to bring them to book was to conquer them, and this Lugard did in three masterly campaigns between 1901 and 1903. In 1901 the rulers of Kantagora and Ilorin in the middle Niger valley submitted; in 1902 the Moslem rulers of Yola and Bornu in the north-east, and finally in 1903 the powerful Emirates of Kano and Sokoto. In all these operations the West African Frontier Force showed its worth in the hard fighting necessary to defeat the Moslem Sultans. When they submitted, they were guaranteed their Moslem faith and customs but they had to make submission to Great Britain and to promise to abolish slavery in their dominions.

Lugard and 'Indirect Rule'

Lugard was faced with the problem of governing a vast country. He was short of officials and there was not much money to provide government services. He therefore evolved the principle associated with his name, that of indirect rule. This in many cases was made possible because the rulers in northern Nigeria, especially in the Emirates of Kano and Sokoto, already possessed systems of government and officials. The principle of indirect rule was described by Lugard thus:

The government utilizes and works through the native chiefs, and avails itself of their intelligence and powers of governing, but insists upon their observance of the fundamental laws of humanity and justice. Residents are appointed to promote this policy by the establishment of Native Courts. The Provincial Courts are instituted to deal with the non-native and to enforce the laws of the Protectorate, more especially those which deal with slave trading. If an Emir proves unamenable to persuasion, he is deposed and a successor recognized by the people will be installed in his place.

The system allowed a good deal of local self-government and also in many cases the control of part of the revenue, the balance being handed over to pay for the specialized services provided by the Colonial government.

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At the time Lugard's system of indirect rule was very successful and was introduced in other parts of British Africa, but it had its limitations: it only really succeeded where the tribal authority was clearly ascertainable and a fully tribalized society was in existence; where tribal society had broken down, it could not be worked. It was not acceptable to the growing number of European-educated Africans who thought in terms of modern democratic systems of government and who rejected indirect rule as perpetuating an older order of things by reinforcing the authority of the chiefs.

The Union of the Two Nigerias, 1914

Before he left Nigeria in 1907 to become Governor of Hong Kong, Lugard urged that a united Nigeria should be made out of the three existing separate administrations. This would lead to much greater efficiency in government and economic development. In particular, it would greatly benefit the northern part of the country. In 1912 he returned to Nigeria as Governor of the two Protectorates of northern and southern Nigeria. In 1914 a united Nigeria was set up with Lugard as Governor-General at the capital Lagos, and the country divided into two provinces, a northern and southern, each under its own Lieutenant-Governor. From this union started modern Nigeria with the growth of economic prosperity and constitutional development leading eventually to independence within the Commonwealth in 1960.

'The Dual Mandate'

In 1918 Lugard retired with a greater experience of Africa than probably any other living man. In 1922 he published his book *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*. As he saw the position, the European nations including Britain, had a double responsibility in Africa. On the one hand there were the trade and economic resources of Africa to be developed and on the other, the responsibility to help the African people advance morally, educationally and economically. Lugard wrote

Europe is in Africa for the mutual benefit of her own industrial classes and of the native races in their progress to a higher plane; the benefit can be made reciprocal, and it is the aim and desire of civilized admini-

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stration to fulfil this dual mandate. On the one hand, the abounding wealth of the tropical regions of the earth must be developed and used for the benefit of mankind; on the other hand, an obligation rests on the controlling power, not only to safeguard the material rights of the natives, but to promote their moral and educational progress.

3. GREAT BRITAIN AND EAST AFRICA

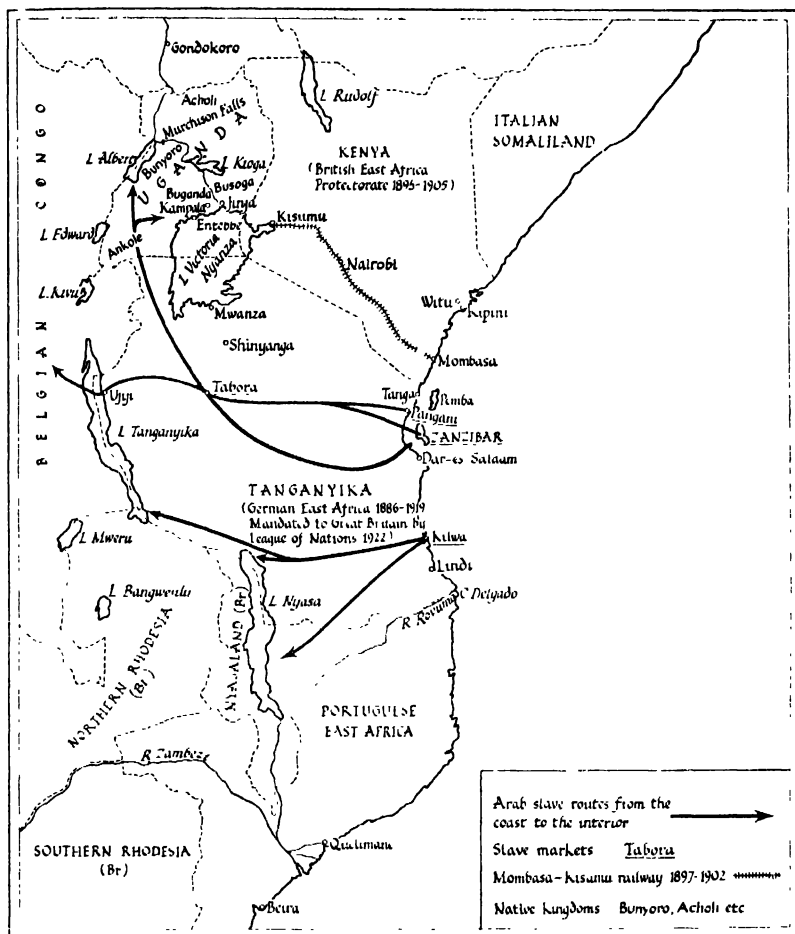
The Arabs in East Africa

At the beginning of the nineteenth century Great Britain gradually developed an interest in East Africa because of her wish to suppress the slave trade that was carried on in the Indian Ocean by the Arab slave traders based on Zanzibar and the coast of East Africa. The Arabs from Muscat on the Persian Gulf had moved into the East African coast at the end of the seventeenth century when the power of the Portuguese declined. The Sultan of Muscat, Seyyid Said, had made Zanzibar the centre of a trading empire in East Africa. Zanzibar had a central position, a good harbour and a fertile soil, and from this island the Arab influence extended over the East Coast and eventually inland where slaves were collected. From Zanzibar and other ports on the coast such as Mombasa and Kilwa, the Arab dhows carried their cargoes of slaves to India, to the Persian Gulf and to Egypt. This East African slave trade was, by all accounts, more expensive and cruel than the corresponding trade that had gone from West Africa to America.

Great Britain and the Arab Slave Trade

The British realized they would have to work through Sultan Seyyid. In 1822 the Moresby Treaty was signed, and by this the Sultan agreed to prohibit the export of slaves to India and Mauritius. This was followed in 1845 by the Hammerton Treaty by which Seyyid agreed to stop the trade from Zanzibar to the coast of Oman in the Persian Gulf. But an anti-slavery patrol provided by the British navy was required to enforce these treaties and even so it was difficult to prevent the large-scale smuggling of slaves by the Arabs. When more became known of the interior of East Africa through the work of explorers such as Burton, Speke, Baker and Livingstone and when the true horrors of the collection of slaves in

Great Britain and East Africa



MAP 14. GREAT BRITAIN IN EAST AFRICA

the interior by the Arabs had been revealed, British opinion became insistent that this trade should be stopped. This meant putting more pressure on the Sultan of Zanzibar. The British Consul there, Sir John Kirk, was active in persuading Sultan Barghash to prohibit the trade. Finally it was necessary in 1873 to threaten a naval blockade of Zanzibar unless the Sultan agreed to stop the trade. A treaty of 1873 with the Sultan made the slave trade illegal between all his ports, and the British navy had power

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to intercept slavers at these ports before they had put to sea. In 1876 the Sultan prohibited the collection of slaves inland, but this proved very difficult to enforce and it took nearly twenty years before the collection of slaves in the interior had been stopped. This need to put down slavery at the source in the interior was a powerful reason for British occupation of the East African territories. Only when the curse of slave trading and slavery had been removed was it possible for any advance of the African peoples to take place.

In the 1870's and early 1880's the East African lands became of increasing interest to European powers and the position of the Sultan of Zanzibar in this area was threatened. In addition, an African State, Egypt, began to move towards the Upper Nile area and the Great Lakes. The Sultan Barghash, realizing the threat, made an offer to Sir William Mackinnon in 1877 whereby he was ready to place the development of trade and the administration of the Arab lands in the East African mainland under British control. This offer was finally declined, chiefly because there was no backing of the British government for it. It was surprising that Great Britain, having done so much to put down the slave trade in this area, should have withdrawn from extending her influence which could have been for the benefit of the African peoples. This extension of British control had been constantly urged by Kirk, the Consul at Zanzibar, who knew more about the conditions in these areas than any other Englishman.

German East Africa

It was the action of Germany in East Africa that forced Great Britain to reconsider her position. In the early 1880's Germany started to colonize in Africa in support of her ambitions to become a world power. In November 1884 a German, Carl Peters, reached the country behind Dar-es-Salaam and entered into negotiations with twelve local chiefs who were the subjects of the Sultan of Zanzibar and who had no authority whatsoever to make treaties with this agent of the Society for German Colonization. The Sultan was not aware of the matter as Peters had moved secretly and in disguise. The German emperor supported the claims of the

Great Britain and East Africa

Society for Colonization and the indignant Sultan of Zanzibar was faced with an ultimatum of bombardment by German cruisers unless he recognized the cession of rights that had been made by the chiefs on the mainland. This was followed up by a commercial treaty whereby the Sultan ceded to them the port of Dar-es-Salaam. It is clear that the Sultan had been let down by Great Britain. He had done much in the past to meet their wishes over the abolition of slavery and his friendly relations with Great Britain morally entitled him to their protection against this aggression by Germany.

The creation of a German colony in East Africa, with a port on the Indian Ocean, led Great Britain to adopt a policy of partition, with spheres of influence marked out in East Africa between herself and Germany. In October 1886 a Partition Treaty was made. By this the two powers recognized the Sultan's authority over the following places and areas: Zanzibar, Pemba, the coast from the river Rovuma in the south to Kipini in the north, and to the north of that certain other towns were recognized as his. The territory between the rivers Rovuma and Tana was divided into two spheres of influence, following roughly the line which divides present-day Kenya and Tanganyika. The treaty did not define how far west the two protectorates extended.

The Imperial British East Africa Company and Uganda

Both the British and Germans used chartered companies to develop their new concessions. The British East Africa Association, which had originally been granted the concession in 1888, received a charter under the title of the Imperial British East Africa Company; its chairman was Sir William Mackinnon. It was essentially a trading company but at the same time it had humanitarian aims such as the elimination of slave trading and slavery where they still existed. Its base was Mombasa on the coast from where it penetrated inland towards Lake Victoria. Before it could develop this area the more pressing problem of Uganda raised its head. Uganda was a large State on the north-west of Lake Victoria which had been discovered in 1862 by Speke. It was a collection of Bantu kingdoms, the predominant one being that of

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Buganda with its Kabaka, or king. In many respects it had more organization and stability than other African kingdoms. Its land was fertile and its population numerous. In the 1870's it had become a great scene of activity for missionaries of various faiths: Moslems, Christians, both Catholic and Protestant, had entered this land. Religious rivalries spilled over into politics in the kingdom of Buganda and the conflicting teachings produced much persecution and bloodshed.

British action in Buganda was hastened by that of Carl Peters. In 1889 the British East Africa Company had sent an expedition to Buganda at the same time as Carl Peters had planned to set up a German colony in Uganda. This, if successful, would have cut off the British land in East Africa between the lake and the coast. The Kabaka asked the British for help to restore him to his throne but their expedition was not empowered to do this. Peters appeared soon after and persuaded the Kabaka to sign a treaty which would have given Germany a protectorate over Uganda. But events in Africa were subordinate to those in Europe, for Bismarck, the German Chancellor, now wished to cultivate the friendship of England as he feared a closer association of France and Russia against Germany. He was therefore willing to make concessions and one of these, to the disappointment of Peters, was that Uganda was a British sphere of influence. An Anglo-German treaty was signed in 1890 regulating further the respective positions in East Africa. This treaty gave Great Britain a protectorate over Zanzibar which was acceptable to the Sultan. It continued the boundaries between Germans and British westwards over Lake Victoria to the Belgian Congo frontier, thus placing Uganda in the British sphere of influence. The Germans also gave up their claim to the protectorate of Witu, which lay, geographically, inside the British sphere on the eastern coast. In return, Britain ceded Heligoland in the North Sea to Germany and undertook to persuade the Sultan to cede the ten-mile coastal strip opposite Zanzibar on the mainland in absolute sovereignty to Germany. In South-west Africa, Germany was given a narrow corridor, the Caprivi strip, which gave her access to the Zambezi river.

Great Britain and East Africa

Lugard in Uganda

The British East Africa Company was given the costly and difficult task of settling the protectorate over Uganda. This brought to the scene one of the greatest names in British tropical Africa, Frederick Dealtry Lugard. He had already distinguished himself in the service of the African Lakes Company in Nyasaland where he had conducted operations against slave traders on the western shores of Lake Nyasa. In 1889 he took up an appointment under the British East Africa Company who, in 1890, sent him to the troubled land of Uganda. The Buganda king, Mwanga, in December 1890, signed a treaty with Lugard whereby he recognized the Company's protectorate over his lands. In return the Company promised its protection but insisted that slave trading should be made illegal, that traders should not trade in guns and ammunition, and that missionaries should be freely admitted, providing that they confined themselves to their religious duties. The position of Lugard was not easy. He had to suppress Moslem attacks on the Christian Africans and also to stop a war between the converts to Catholicism and Protestantism. These two groups were struggling for control of the king and hence control of the kingdom.

British Protectorate proclaimed over Uganda, 1894

The finances of the Company had been strained by their effort in Buganda which cost them more than they could afford and brought in no revenue. In 1891 they made it clear to the British government that they would have to abandon their protectorate in Uganda. This roused British opinion and the government of Gladstone, somewhat reluctantly, was forced to take action to retain Uganda. Its importance was now more fully realized; not only were there many English missionaries there but the country itself was important as it occupied a position on the headwaters of the Nile. Enough money was raised to enable the Company to stay in Uganda a little longer until the British government made its final decision. The Consul from Zanzibar, Sir Gerald Portal, was sent to Uganda to report. On arrival at Kampala, he hoisted the Union Jack and declared a British protectorate over Uganda. His

British Tropical Africa

action was later confirmed by the British government and the protectorate of Uganda officially dates from August 1894. In the following year the British East Africa Company was ended. Its work had been of a patriotic nature rather than a commercial success. It had exhausted its resources in setting up an administration in this great area of land and had derived little revenue from its activities. The Company's territories were then taken over by the Foreign Office and the title, the British East Africa Protectorate, was given to them, June 1895.

The British East African Protectorate (Kenya)

The early history of this land is bound up with the building of the railway from Mombasa to Lake Victoria. This started in 1897 and was completed in 1902. It was over five hundred miles long and many technical difficulties had to be overcome. The railway had to be taken up to an altitude of over 5000 feet from the coastal plain into the highlands of the Rift valley. To build it an Indian labour force had to be imported as the African peoples were as yet unsuited for this kind of work. The primary motive behind the railway was to give a link with Uganda. The cost of the railway and its early maintenance was borne by the British taxpayer and the wish to make the railway pay made it necessary to develop the land economically. This meant bringing in settlers who would grow products for the railway to carry. The first white settlers arrived in the Protectorate after the South African war of 1899-1902.

White settlement in Kenya after 1900

The background of land settlement in Kenya is a complicated one. In 1900 there appeared to be a great deal of vacant land but this did not necessarily mean that there were no African claims to it. Land was most important to the African but he used it and regarded it in a different way from the European. Nevertheless, the government began to grant leases of land in the highlands of Kenya. The first East Africa Lands Order in Council was particularly vague about what actual land it was bringing under control of the government for the purpose of settlement. Another problem to be settled was that of the Masai. They were a warrior, nomadic, pastoralist tribe

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with great herds of cattle. It was necessary to settle them in reserves and this was done by two agreements in 1904 and 1911. The latter agreement was open to criticism as it was forced on many of the Masai against their will in order to provide land for further white settlement. In the early days boundaries were not particularly clearly marked and some grants of these reserve lands were made in favour of Europeans. It was necessary to regulate the situation and this was done in the 1920's. In 1926 the boundaries of the reserves were stated and in 1932 a royal commission, known as the Carter Land Commission, tackled the whole problem of native lands in Kenya. The commission made a final definition of the exact boundaries of the reserves and took steps to remedy past injustices by making more land available for African use. The African lands were transferred to a Native Lands Trust board to hold them in the interests of the African users. At the same time the privileged position of European settlers was confirmed by the delimitation of a highlands area.

Modern Kenya owes much to the work of the early European pioneers who proved the agricultural possibilities of the country. The greatest name here is that of Lord Delamere. In the years before World War I, Lord Delamere on his 100,000 acre ranch experimented in cattle and wheat growing. In both these he succeeded after many difficulties, notably the control of tick fever in cattle and the need for raising a rust-proof strain of wheat. In the 1920's he continued his work by showing the possibilities of dairy farming in Kenya. There was extensive settlement after World War I and by 1926 there were some 12,000 white settlers in Kenya. Coffee, tea, sisal, were all grown successfully on a plantation basis. In 1930 a new and important crop, that of pyrethrum used for manufacture of insecticides, was introduced. From this primary production in the 1930's and after, there developed a secondary production involving the processing of the primary products such as butter, cheese, canning of meat and fruit.

Constitutional development, 1905-60

When the Colonial Office took over the protectorate from the Foreign Office in 1905 the usual forms of Crown Colony govern-

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ment appeared. An Executive Council was set up in 1905 followed by a Legislative Council in 1907. The latter had nominated unofficial representatives who for many years caused trouble by their irresponsible criticisms of the government. In 1920 eleven unofficial members were elected to the Legislative Council and two of these became elected members of the Executive Council. At the same time members were nominated for the Indian and Arab members of the community and one European member to represent African interests. The Indian community in Kenya was dissatisfied with the treatment it had received, not only over its representation in the Legislative Council, but also its position in the colony. It claimed equal status with the Europeans, particularly the right to buy and hold land in the White Highlands. This claim was resisted by the white settlers and in 1923 the British government issued a White paper, the Devonshire Report. This enunciated the principle of the paramountcy of African interests, at the same time recognizing the interests of the European, Indian and Arab communities established in Kenya. The constitutional development of Kenya has been slow because it is a plural society with Africans, Arabs, Asians and Europeans. From the 1920's onward, the British government opposed the granting of responsible government in the interest of the white settler minority only. Kenya therefore moved more slowly towards self-government than the other British territories in tropical Africa. In 1948 she attained representative government with an unofficial majority in the Legislative Council. The Mau Mau terrorist outbreak in 1952 made progress impossible until 1955 when a Council of Ministers was set up. In this, besides official members, there were some unofficial members to whom were given charge of certain departments of government. This was intended to give practice in government to the unofficial African, Asian, and Arab ministers before introducing a full ministerial system under responsible government. The proposals of 1960 carried Kenya further towards self-government by increasing the number of members of the Legislative Council elected on a common roll of voters and by bringing an unofficial majority into the Council of Ministers.

Great Britain and East Africa

Uganda under British rule

A good deal of work was needed to make British authority effective in the years immediately after the declaration of the protectorate in 1894. The Moslem Buganda had to be suppressed and also the Kingdom of Bunyoro whose ruler had been raiding the neighbouring kingdom of Toro. In 1897 Kabaka Mwanga with the support of many of the chiefs instigated a revolt in Buganda. The rebellion was put down but immediately afterwards the Commissioner was faced with a serious mutiny of his Sudanese troops on whom he relied to uphold British authority in the protectorate. The mutiny was suppressed and finally the original trouble-makers, the Kabarega of Bunyoro and Kabaka Mwanga, were captured and exiled to the Seychelles.

In 1900 Sir Harry Johnston, who had wide experience of Africa, became Special Commissioner for Uganda Protectorate. His work for Uganda was important and influenced the development of her economy and political structure. He made a land settlement in Buganda which disregarded the old idea that all land was the Kabaka's who could give and take back land at his pleasure. Instead individual ownership for Buganda was introduced and production of cash crops by the numerous small farmers created by this measure was encouraged.

The Buganda kingdom already had well-developed political institutions, for example, the Kabaka and his Lukiko or advisory council of great chiefs and officials. Johnston adapted this to indirect rule; the Kabaka with the help of the Lukiko was to rule Buganda subject to the approval of the Commissioner. Likewise with the Commissioner's consent the Kabaka was to appoint his Lukiko and together they could make laws for the Buganda. This arrangement gave the Buganda considerable control of their own affairs and placed them, compared with the other kingdoms of Uganda, in a special relationship with the central government.

The Colonial Office took over control of the Protectorate from the Foreign Office in 1905; a Governor was first appointed in 1907. In 1921 the first Executive and Legislative Councils were set up; by 1955 they had advanced from the nominated system of 1921

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to an unofficial majority and ministerial system. The 1900 agreement on Buganda government broke down in 1953 when the Governor rejected the request from the Kabaka Mutesa II, supported by a Lukiko which had been more democratically constituted after the revolt of 1949, for independence for Buganda. The Kabaka, who had to break with either the Governor or his Lukiko, chose the first alternative and was suspended from his office by the Governor and deported to England. This dispute gave an opportunity to review the Buganda constitution; the Namirembe conference presided over by Professor Sir Keith Hancock recommended that the Kabaka should become a constitutional monarch with a ministry of six responsible to him. Most of the conference's proposals were accepted by the Kabaka when he returned from exile in 1955. The same year saw the start of a ministerial system for the Protectorate which by 1961 gave a Council of Ministers with a majority of members drawn from the Legislative Council. Full self-government for Uganda was attained in March 1962.

The economic development of the Protectorate has been greatly influenced by the success of the African peasant farmers with cotton and coffee growing. Uganda cotton is of good quality and compares favourably with the long-stapled Egyptian; it is Uganda's most valuable export. The growing, collecting and marketing of both cotton and coffee are well organized; for example, there is a Coffee Industry Board which conducts selling operations on the world's markets to get the best price for the African grower. Some mining for copper, tin and wolfram is carried on in the western provinces. The manufacture of cement and textiles has started, helped since 1954 by the power from the Owen Falls hydro-electric scheme, a substantial part of the capital for which was provided by Uganda from her own resources.

Tanganyika, 1919-61

After World War I Tanganyika Territory, formerly German East Africa, came under British rule in 1919 as a mandated territory. Great Britain was responsible to the League of Nations for the good government and well being of the territory and its inhabitants. In 1946 under Article 77 of the United Nations Charter, Tanganyika,

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in common with the other mandated territories, became a trustee territory and this status she kept until independence in 1961.

The Tanganyika which Great Britain took over in 1919 was impoverished by the campaigns of 1914-18 when General von Lettow-Vorbeck had defied the Allied forces for the whole of the war. There was widespread disease and famine among the Africans and disorganization of the farms, plantations and railway system. The territory, however, made a fairly quick recovery under the able rule of two Governors, Sir Horace Byatt (1920-5) and Sir Donald Cameron (1925-30).

Cameron developed what he called native administration and this in many respects resembled the indirect rule that Lugard had used in Northern Nigeria. His policy was to revive and strengthen the tribal authorities and with the guidance of the District Commissioners and specialist Services to help them to govern themselves. The African authorities were made responsible in their areas for the maintenance of order and the collection of taxes.

About three-quarters of Tanganyika's exports are agricultural products; of these sisal, coffee and cotton are the most important. Sisal growing, which was introduced by the Germans in 1893, is done on a plantation basis; coffee is grown by both African farmers and European planters; cotton mainly by African farmers. The discovery of diamonds at Shinyanga in 1940 has added considerably to Tanganyika's resources as the annual output is worth between £4 and £5 millions. The attempt made soon after World War II to establish large-scale growing of groundnuts was a costly failure.

Like other dependencies Tanganyika passed through the customary stages of constitutional development. A nominated Legislative Council was introduced in 1926 and it kept this nominated character until 1958 when the first elections were held to elect 30 out of the 64 members of the Legislative Council. Progress was then rapid. The Executive Council became a Council of Ministers in 1959 with nine official and seven unofficial members. In the general election of August 1960 the Tanganyika National Union party won 70 out of 71 seats. In May 1961 Tanganyika reached full internal self-government with independence following in

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December 1961. Mr Julius Nyerere, hitherto Chief Minister, became Prime Minister with a Cabinet of eleven Ministers.

4. THE RHODESIAS AND NYASALAND

The Matabele Rising, 1896

The foundation of Rhodesia by Cecil Rhodes and the British South Africa Company has been related in chapter 14. In 1895 Jameson drafted the Company's police to the force for his raid on the Transvaal Republic. This gave the discontented Matabele a chance to rise against the settlers in March 1896 when they slew all Europeans within reach. The situation was serious but Rhodes by an act of great personal bravery went to the stronghold of the Matabele in the Matoppos and persuaded them to submit. There was a quick recovery by the Company and settlers continued to come in.

Differences between the Company and settlers

From the earliest days there had been a Legislative Council with an elected minority chosen by the settlers but there was a running conflict between the Company and these elected representatives. The chief matters of contention were responsibility for the money spent on administration, and secondly, who owned the vacant lands. The Company claimed that the money it spent on administration, in building railways, roads and public works should become a public charge and that vacant lands belonged to them. The settlers maintained that the money spent by the Company could not be admitted as a public debt, that the ownership of the vacant lands must be decided, that railway rates should be lowered and that individuals rather than favoured companies should have the right to mine freely in the territory. In defence of the Company it must be admitted that they had spent large sums in administration. They had been disappointed in not finding extensive gold mines in their territory. Their revenue was small and it was not until after 1924 that they were able to pay any dividend to their shareholders.

The Rhodesias and Nyasaland

Northern Rhodesia

The Company's influence extended across the river Zambezi both to the north-east and to the north-west. The north-eastern territories running up to the southern end of Lake Tanganyika had been taken over in 1894. In the north-west (Barotseland) the Company in 1900 had been granted mining concessions by the Paramount Chief Lewanika, but his powers as ruler remained intact. In 1911 the two territories were combined as Northern Rhodesia and in 1924 became a Protectorate under the Crown.

Renewal of the Company's Charter, 1915

The Company's Charter had been granted for twenty-five years. By the time it approached its end in 1914 the Company had experienced a modest growth in prosperity which was partly due to the greater attention paid to large-scale farming. The Company was still unpopular with its subjects whom it tried to appease by promising to limit settlement to a twenty-five mile zone on either side of the railways existing or projected. The difficulties caused by World War I from 1914-18, and the fact that the alternative to a renewal of the Charter was incorporation in the Union of South Africa, led to the granting of a supplementary Charter for ten years running from 1915 until October 1924, unless an absolute majority in the Legislative Council could prove to His Majesty's government that the country was entitled to self-government.

The Company's claims judicially decided, 1918

In July 1918 the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council gave its decision about the claims of the Company to the unoccupied lands. The Judicial Committee advised His Majesty that the conquest of Lobengula made in 1893 by Jameson nullified all the concessions made by the Matabele ruler and therefore the unoccupied land was at the disposal of the Crown and not the Company. This gave the British Crown power to intervene to protect African rights in the territory and these powers were vested in the High Commissioner for South Africa. On the other hand, the claim of the Company for compensation for the expenditure it had made in the course of

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administration was admitted. Eventually the Company was awarded £3½ million for the loss of its territories; it also retained the mineral rights which it sold to the Southern Rhodesian government for £2 million in 1933.

The colony of Southern Rhodesia, 1923

In 1921 a majority of the Legislative Council petitioned the Crown for the grant of self-government. This was agreed in principle and in October 1921 details of the constitution which would be granted were made known. This gave self-government, but preserved to H.M.'s Government control of railway, mining and African affairs, and also external affairs. The alternative for the Rhodesian settlers was to consider joining the Union of South Africa. There were many practical reasons supporting this, among them geographical nearness and certain economic connections with the Union. On the other hand, the English settlers disliked Afrikanerdom with its republican tendencies and bi-lingual policy. Smuts, who was then Premier of the Union, made a generous offer to the Rhodesian settlers, offering to compensate the Company to the extent of £7 million for its assets and claims, and as a province of the Union Rhodesia would have enjoyed greater local powers than did the other provinces. Finally in a referendum in Rhodesia of a total electorate of 22,000, 14,761 voted, with a majority of 2785 in favour of becoming a self-governing colony under the British Crown. In September 1923 the colony of Southern Rhodesia was proclaimed and formally annexed to the Crown. Northern Rhodesia became a Protectorate under the Crown in 1924.

After 1924 Southern Rhodesia successfully developed its economy. Tobacco growing and cattle raising both became important and fairly prosperous. The mining industries of the Colony developed with good results from gold and asbestos. In its relation with the African population in Rhodesia the powers of the colony's government were limited by the right of the Crown to reserve legislation which affected African rights. In spite of this the Colony developed a policy towards the Bantu people which resembled that practised by the Union of South Africa. There was differential treatment which involved the segregation of Africans

The Rhodesias and Nyasaland

on reserves. For Rhodesia the problem was easier as there was a greater amount of land available for African reserves. There was protection of white economic interests and pass laws controlled the movements of Africans, whose entry or residence in urban areas was strictly controlled.

The Nyasaland Protectorate

On his second journey Livingstone reached the southern end of Lake Nyasa in 1859. Missionaries followed soon after; the Universities Mission to Central Africa arrived but was forced by slavers and tribal hostility to withdraw to Zanzibar in 1863; the Church of Scotland missionary station was set up at Blantyre in 1876. Traders came in 1878, with the establishment of the African Lakes Corporation which introduced steamships to Lakes Nyasa and Tanganyika. Their activities cut across the Arab slave route from the upper Congo to the east coast and a period of war with the slavers followed in which Captain Lugard distinguished himself. In 1889 Harry Johnston was sent to clear up the situation; his agreements with the chiefs led to the establishment of a protectorate in 1892. Johnston was placed in charge as Consul-General and did much to put down slave raiding. In 1904 the Protectorate was transferred from the Foreign Office to the control of the Colonial Office and in 1907 the first Governor was appointed. Nyasaland has been somewhat of a 'problem' territory; communications are difficult and her access to the sea is barred by Portuguese East Africa. Economically she is poor and is an overpopulated country; many of her people leave to seek work in the Copper Belt. She has no mineral resources; tea and tobacco are her chief products for sale in the world's markets.

The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland

In the 1930's the movement started which led to the Federation of the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland. The Prime Minister, Godfrey Huggins, was in favour of developing the larger economic unit which a Union of the two Rhodesias could provide. The first beginnings of closer union were in April 1935 when there was a Governors' Conference of the three territories in Salisbury, and in

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January 1936 when the members of the Legislative Councils of Northern and Southern Rhodesia conferred at the Victoria Falls. In 1938 a royal commission under Lord Bledisloe investigated the problem of closer co-operation between the Rhodesias and Nyasaland. It gave support to the immediate union of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland but it was doubtful about a Union of all three territories. It recommended that the three should co-ordinate their services and economic development, but it foresaw difficulties if Southern Rhodesia should dominate any closer union. In 1945 the Central African Council was set up; this was a consultative body on which the three territories were represented by the three Governors and nominated members of the Legislative Council.

The pressure of post-war developments after 1945 hastened the movement for closer union. Economic and political consolidation was necessary; the three territories were economically interdependent. The idea for federation was developed mainly in Southern Rhodesia but it received support from Northern Rhodesia which had advanced its political status; Roy Welensky, the trade union leader in Northern Rhodesia of the white miners, was in favour of closer union with Southern Rhodesia. In February 1949 a Conference at the Victoria Falls discussed the Federation. Its proposals aroused opposition from Africans, especially in Northern Rhodesia where it was feared that the Protectorate might be threatened. In 1951 a conference in London after preliminary consideration suggested a federation. The conference at Victoria Falls resumed its discussions in September 1951. At these were representatives from the three territories and also the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Minister for Commonwealth Relations from London. Once again opposition was expressed by Africans who saw in the scheme an attempt to put them under the control of the white Southern Rhodesians. A London conference was called in April 1952 at which the African point of view was inadequately represented, but a draft scheme for federation was adopted with safeguards for African interests. In July 1953 a Rhodesia and Nyasaland Constitution (Bill) authorized the Crown to constitute a federation by Order

The Rhodesias and Nyasaland

in Council and this was done by Her Majesty in July of the same year.

Under the Federal constitution the Queen is represented in the Federation by a Governor-General who as head of the executive exercises his powers on the advice of the Prime Minister and Executive Council. The Federal Parliament has a Speaker and 59 members, 44 of whom are elected members of any race (Southern Rhodesia 24, Northern Rhodesia 14, Nyasaland 6). The remaining members are eight Africans ordinarily elected, four Africans elected racially and three European members one from each territory: these fifteen members are specifically concerned with African interests. The channel through which this is done is the African Affairs Board, a standing committee of the Federal Assembly composed of the three European members representing African interests and one of the elected African members from each territory. The Board can ask for the reservation for the signification of Her Majesty's pleasure of all proposed Federal legislation which it thinks adversely affects African interests.

The Federation has exclusive power over external affairs entrusted to it by the United Kingdom government, defence, migration into and away from the Federation, financial and economic policy, roads, railways, posts and telecommunications, European education and agriculture. A few matters such as health, prisons and town planning are within the legislative competence of both Federal and territorial governments, though in case of conflict Federal law will prevail. Otherwise, apart from the matters specified as exclusively Federal, all other functions of government remain with the territorial governments, for example law and order, African administration, education, land, agriculture, mining, irrigation, local government and housing. Of the money raised by Federal income tax, 62 per cent goes to the Federal government, 18 per cent to Northern Rhodesia, 14 per cent to Southern Rhodesia and 6 per cent to Nyasaland. The Federal Supreme Court has a Chief Justice assisted by other judges varying in number between three and ten; in matters relating to interpretation of the Federal constitution this court has an exclusive jurisdiction.

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The economic development of the Federation since

Since 1953 the economic development of the Federation has been impressive and has been helped by a variety of factors. Of the three confederating territories, Southern and Northern Rhodesia already had diversified economies based on agriculture and mining; Nyasaland had some plantation agriculture but her major economic contribution (due to overpopulation) was her labour supply for the other two. The Federation's most important exports are copper and tobacco; thus in 1958 out of total Federal exports valued at £142 million, copper accounted for £67 million and tobacco £27 million. The Copper Belt of Northern Rhodesia has proved the economic mainstay of the Federation and provided a large part of the government's revenue, although the amount it contributes varies with the world price of copper. In agriculture the use of modern methods of soil and water conservation, and the use of fertilizers and better seed, have raised output so that the Federation became self-sufficient in foodstuffs. Development was also assisted by the establishment of secondary manufacturing industries which were made possible by the flow of capital from outside the Federation. The most important are those connected with the processing of minerals, for example, the smelting and refining of copper, lead, zinc and chromium, and the manufacture of steel.

The integration brought by the Federation led to development plans for the extension and improvement of such basic services as power, transport, roads and postal communications. In the years immediately before federation the Copper Belt had been handicapped by a shortage of electricity and coal. To provide an abundant and cheap supply of electric power the Federal government decided to build the dam at the Kariba Gorge on the Zambezi. Work started in 1956 and the 420 feet high dam was completed in 1959. Generation of electricity started the following year and this is transmitted over a wide area of Northern and Southern Rhodesia for the use of mining, industry, the railways and the private consumer. The total cost of the enterprise will be not less than £120 million and of this over three-quarters will be raised from Commonwealth sources.

The Rhodesias and Nyasaland

The Monckton Report and after

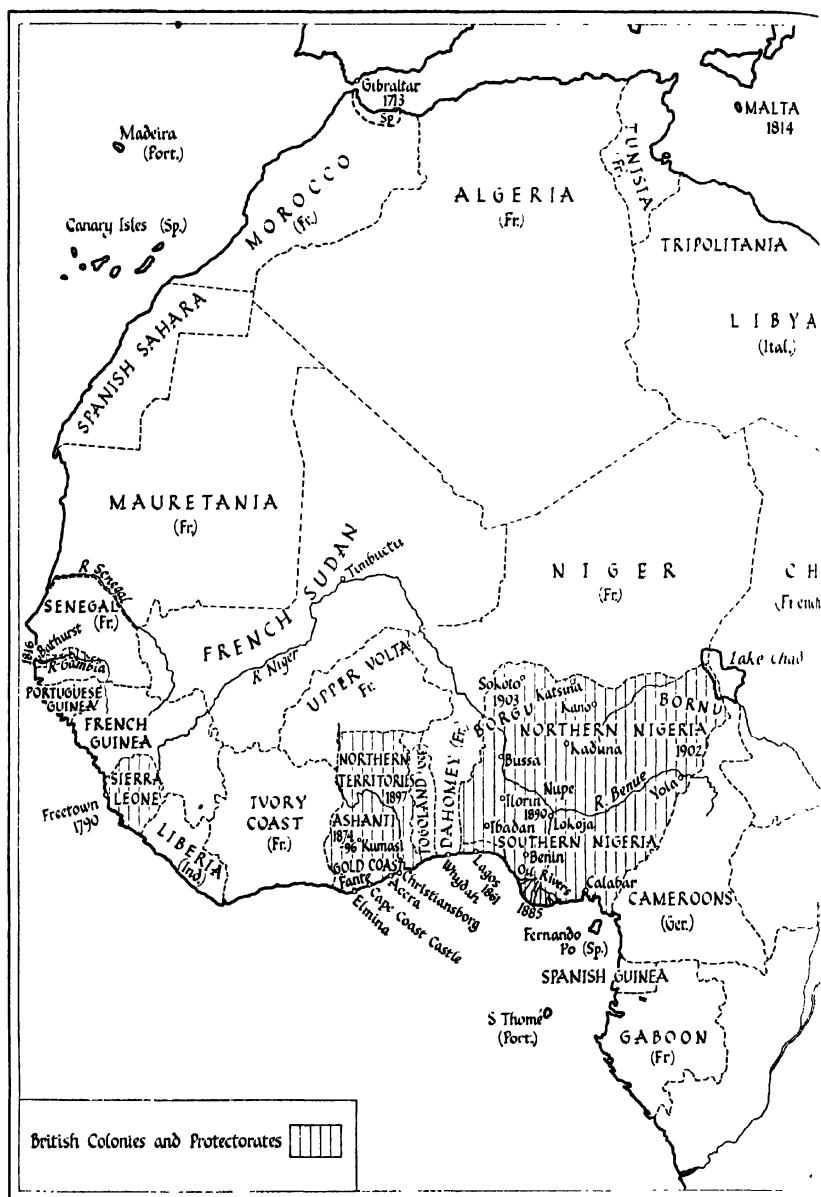
The Advisory Commission on Review of the Constitution of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, presided over by Lord Monckton, issued its report in October 1960. It emphasized that the break-up of the Federation would be a serious matter but also that the existing Federation was widely disliked by Africans. To remove this dislike it recommended various changes: there should be increased African representation in the Federal Assembly; discriminatory racial practices should be made illegal and prevented by a Bill of Rights; the powers of the territorial governments should be increased by transference to them of certain matters of government at present dealt with by the Federal authorities. Finally it recommended that the right to secede or leave the Federation should be allowed to the Territories.

The commission emphasized the outstanding economic progress made under Federation. The economic links established between the prosperous mining economy of Northern Rhodesia and the well-balanced economy of Southern Rhodesia with its farming and secondary industries could not be broken without serious consequences, especially for Nyasaland, the poorest of the three territories. It is this economic factor which has, more than anything else, imposed caution in coming to a final decision about the future of the Federation. The various constitutional reviews in 1961-62 showed that its continued existence in its present form was very doubtful; Nyasaland on attaining independence declared its firm intention to secede, regardless of the economic consequences. The decision of the British government in December 1962 to allow this secession appeared to indicate a policy of ending the Federation.

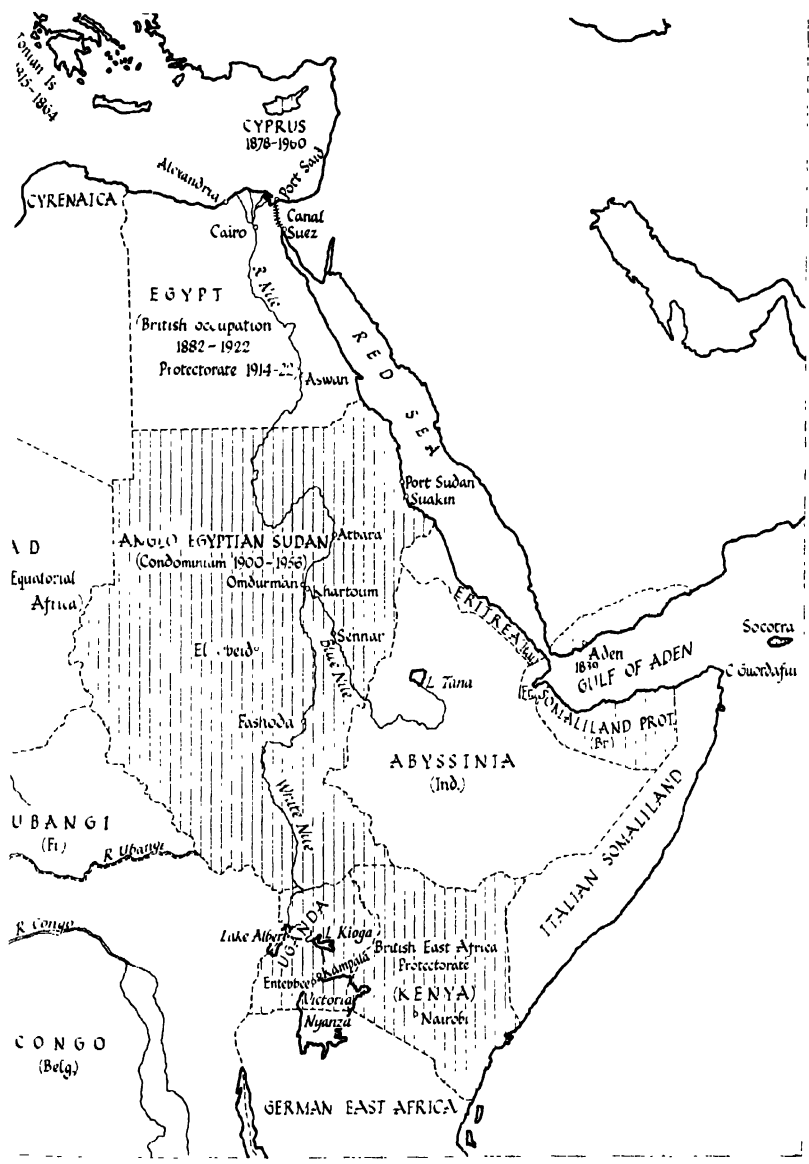
5. EGYPT AND THE SUDAN

Great Britain and Mehemet Ali

Egypt first played a part in British imperial policy when, in 1798, Napoleon Bonaparte led a French expedition to Egypt; the British regarded this as a threat to the Red Sea approaches to British India. Nelson's victory of the Nile and the subsequent



MAP 15. THE BRITISH IN WEST



ND NORTH AFRICA, 1815-1914

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fighting on land checked this, but French influence remained strong in Egypt under Mehemet Ali, an adventurer in Turkish service who had established his rule in Egypt in 1807. He held Egypt as a vassal of the Sultan of Turkey but ambition and a personal grudge led him to attack his overlord by invading Syria and Asia Minor in 1832-3; further fighting followed in 1838-9. British policy, at this time directed by Palmerston, aimed at supporting the decaying Turkish empire and therefore regarded Mehemet Ali as a troublesome disturber of the peace of the Near East and as too friendly with France. In 1840 a British naval blockade of Egypt and Syria forced Mehemet Ali out of Syria but he and his heirs were confirmed as Pashas of Egypt (later Khedives), subject to payment of an annual tribute to the Sultan. During his reign Mehemet Ali conquered the Sudan and the coast on the African side of the Red Sea; he also established some degree of law and order in Egypt and attempted a modernization of his country with roads, schools and the beginnings of irrigation schemes.

Great Britain and the Suez Canal

In 1858 the French Suez Canal Company was founded with a capital of 200 million francs (£8 million) to build a canal from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea under the terms of a concession granted by the Pasha Said. The British regarded the project with jealousy and said that it would fail, but in this they were wrong for when the canal was opened in 1869 it proved both successful and profitable. It was a tribute to the skill of the French engineer Ferdinand de Lesseps and to the enterprise of the ruler Khedive Ismail who had borrowed lavishly at high rates of interest to pay for the extra expenses involved in building the canal. But by 1875 Ismail was overwhelmed by a huge debt which had increased by nearly twenty times during his reign; he could no longer meet the interest on these loans and was forced to sell his holding of Suez Canal Company shares. Disraeli, then Prime Minister, promptly bought these shares so giving Great Britain 45 per cent of the total share capital of the Company and membership of the Board of Directors which controlled this vital link on the route to the East. A year later Ismail was forced to admit the bankruptcy of Egypt and

Egypt and the Sudan

to hand over control of his country's finances to an international office, the 'Caisse de la Dette' directed by two controller-generals of finance, one British and one French. This was the so-called 'Dual Control' of Egypt's finances in the interests of the foreign bondholders. The intrigues of Khedive Ismail against the Dual Control led to his deposition in 1879.

The British Occupation of Egypt, 1882

In 1881 a nationalist revolt broke out headed by Arabi Pasha, an officer of the Egyptian army. It was a protest against the corruption and exploitation by the Khedive and his associates who had sold the country to foreigners; the arrogance of the foreign communities in Egypt who abused their privileges under the 'Capitulations' of having their own law courts, often to the disadvantage of the Egyptians, was also resented. The revolt led to attacks on foreigners and over fifty Europeans were killed in Alexandria; anarchy spread through Egypt. The British government sent a fleet to Alexandria to restore the authority of the Khedive; France, although a partner in the Dual Control, withdrew from the operation. The fortifications of Alexandria were bombarded by the British fleet (July 1882) and a British force landed to secure the Suez Canal. Arabi Pasha's army was defeated at Tel-el-Kebir (September 1882).

Lord Dufferin, the British ambassador at Constantinople, was sent to Egypt to investigate the situation; he advised occupation for an indefinite period. This would make possible good government for Egypt and also, more important, secure Great Britain's vital interest, the Suez Canal route to India. This British occupation seems to have given the signal for the 'Scramble for Africa' by the other European powers. Great Britain however did not annex Egypt; it remained nominally a province of Turkey with its Khedive and Egyptian ministers, but all real power was exercised by the Agent and Consul-General Sir Evelyn Baring, afterwards Lord Cromer.

The work of Lord Cromer, 1884-1907

Like Curzon in India Cromer aimed at the welfare of the toiling peasant masses; his work, which lasted twenty-three years, trans-

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formed Egypt. At first he was hampered by shortage of money; the foreign bondholders demanded and got priority of payment for their interest, and the cost of evacuating the Egyptian garrisons from the Sudan was heavy. Gradually reforms started; the *corvée* or the exaction of unpaid forced labour from the peasants was abolished; the burden of taxation was lightened by reducing the land tax and abolishing the salt tax. The army was reorganized by a British military mission and the various departments of government were reconstructed by British officials, many of them from British India. After 1890 increasing prosperity due to good Nile floods and harvests led to an ambitious programme of public works especially in connection with irrigation. The Nile Barrage, originally started by Mehemet Ali and designed to control the flood waters of the Nile in Lower Egypt, had already been reconstructed with a consequent increase of the area under cotton cultivation. In 1896 a much greater work was started with the building of the Aswan Dam in Upper Egypt, based on plans made by British engineers from the Indian Public Works Department. Completed in 1898 the Aswan Dam gave full control of the Nile flood and brought four million extra acres under cultivation; in 1907 the Dam was raised by another 26 feet. When Cromer retired in 1907, in spite of obstruction by 'Bankers and Pashas' he had reformed the administration of Egypt, given good government and increasing prosperity. At the time he received little recognition from the country he had benefited where growing nationalist feeling was demanding 'Egypt for the Egyptians', but his achievement was unquestionably a great one.

The Mahdi's revolt in the Sudan

Like other parts of the African interior the Sudan was an area where slave trading flourished; the Khedive Ismail wishing to impress the European powers had employed European officers and officials to suppress the trade and to consolidate Egyptian rule in the Upper Sudan. Thus Sir Samuel Baker, one of the discoverers of the White Nile, was Governor of Equatorial Sudan from 1869 to 1874. He was followed by General Charles Gordon as Governor-General of the whole Sudan from 1874 to 1879. Both had some

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success though it was an uphill task against the corrupt Egyptian officials who connived at the slave trade whenever possible. In 1881 Egyptian rule in the Sudan was overthrown by Mohammed Ahmed, better known as the Mahdi or the 'guided one'. His revolt was inspired by a fanatical Mohammedanism directed against the Egyptians who besides being corrupt and oppressive rulers were, in the eyes of the Mahdi and his followers, bad Moslems. The revolt was a serious one as the Mahdi commanded an army of brave fighting men, the Dervishes. In 1883 an Egyptian army sent to attack the Mahdi was massacred at El Obeid, and apart from a few garrisons Egyptian rule in the Sudan crumbled to nothing. On the advice of Sir Evelyn Baring the British government decided to evacuate the Sudan and in February 1884 General Gordon was sent to withdraw the remaining Egyptian garrisons.

Gordon at Khartoum, 1884-5

On arrival Gordon, remembering his former achievements in the Sudan, was confident that he could retrieve the situation and thought there was no need to evacuate the garrisons. It soon became clear that Gordon was over-optimistic for by the middle of 1884 he and his garrison in Khartoum were surrounded by the Dervishes. The British government hesitated in sending help and the relief expedition under Sir Garnet Wolseley did not start from Egypt until November. Its advance guard reached Khartoum two days after it had been stormed and Gordon killed on the night of 25/26 January 1885. The Sudan, except the Red Sea port of Suakin, was lost and was not reconquered until 1898. When the news reached Britain a storm of criticism broke over Prime Minister Gladstone's head; the 'Grand Old Man'—'G.O.M.' now became 'Murderer of Gordon'—'M.O.G.', and cartoons depicted him swimming in a sea of blood. British public opinion, dominated by the rising tide of imperialism, resented this disaster.

Reconquest of the Sudan, 1896-8

The Mahdi died in 1885 and was succeeded by his lieutenant who took the title of the Khalifa. He made an attempt to invade Egypt

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in 1889 but was defeated by the reorganized Egyptian army. By 1896 both the finances and army of Egypt were strong enough to reconquer the Sudan. The decision to do this was influenced by two factors: the French were seeking to extend their control of Equatorial Africa into the Upper Sudan and Great Britain, now that she was responsible for Egypt and had declared a protectorate over Uganda, wanted to complete her control of the headwaters of the White Nile by reconquering the Sudan. An Anglo-Egyptian army commanded by Sir Herbert Kitchener entered the Sudan in 1896, advancing methodically and building a railway in its rear to secure its supply line. On 2 September 1898 the Dervish army was defeated at Omdurman and Khartoum reoccupied.

The Fashoda incident, 1898

Shortly before Omdurman a small French force under Major Marchand had reached Fashoda higher up the Nile after a lengthy journey across Africa from the northern Congo. Marchand hoisted the French flag claiming the upper Nile lands for France; Kitchener hurried up from Khartoum and hoisted the British and Egyptian flags. The incident led to great tension between France and Great Britain but was settled peacefully. The French Foreign Minister Delcassé ordered Marchand to withdraw and in 1899 an Anglo-French agreement regulated the spheres of influence of the two countries in the watershed between the upper Nile and the Congo.

Anglo-Egyptian rule in the Sudan

An Anglo-Egyptian *condominium* or joint rule was set up in the Sudan, but in this Egypt was very much the junior partner. Thus the Khedive nominally appointed the Governor-General of the Sudan but the British government selected him and he could not be removed from office without its permission. For the next fifty years the Sudan benefited from the rule of the Sudan Civil Service to whose senior ranks were appointed British officials of a quality and efficiency which equalled that of the Indian Civil Service. Peace was gradually restored and the wilder outlying districts brought under control. Schools were started; a railway was built from Atbara to Port Sudan on the Red Sea and the navigation of

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the upper Nile improved. The arid but fertile land was brought under cultivation for cotton by irrigation schemes, the greatest of which was the Sennar Dam, completed in 1925 and which made available the waters of the Blue Nile for the growing of fine, long-stapled cotton in the Gezira lands. These irrigation works aroused the jealousy of the Egyptian nationalists who saw in them an attempt to deprive Egypt of the Nile waters. Anglo-Egyptian rule ended in 1956 when the Sudan became an independent republic.

Anglo-Egyptian relations, 1914-56

The entry of Turkey into World War I on the side of Germany led to a declaration in December 1914 of a British protectorate over Egypt. The country became a base of operations for the defence of the Canal and eventually for the expulsion of the Turks from Palestine and Syria. Immediately after the war Egyptian nationalists demanded independence; Lord Milner negotiated with the Nationalist Wafd leader Zaghlul a provisional settlement which would give this independence and at the same time safeguard British interests in the strategic Canal zone. In 1922 the British protectorate was ended; Egypt was proclaimed an independent kingdom under King Fuad, a descendant of Mehemet Ali. But British military occupation continued and the Sudan remained under joint Anglo-Egyptian rule. The British refusal to hand over the Sudan angered King Fuad as well as the Wafd politicians and relations remained strained for a number of years. Relations improved when an Anglo-Egyptian treaty of alliance for twenty years was signed in 1936; Britain promised to uphold Egyptian independence; she was to garrison the Canal zone and to have the right to use Egyptian naval bases and airfields. Great Britain also used her influence to advance the international status of Egypt by securing her admission to the League of Nations and by inducing the powers concerned to abolish, by the Montreux Convention (1937), the 'Capitulations' under which foreigners in Egypt had the right to be tried by their own consular courts. In World War II Egypt was a vital base for Allied operations against Germany and Italy. At the end of the war there was an insistent Egyptian demand for the ending of British military occupation of the Canal zone.

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An agreement whereby Britain undertook to evacuate the Canal zone within twenty months was signed in 1954 and carried out in the following year. The seizure of the Canal by Egypt in 1956 was regarded by the British government as an unfriendly act, in view of its recent attempts to improve relations, and also as breaking the international law regulating the Canal. This led to the abortive Anglo-French military intervention in the same year.

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BRITISH RULE AFTER THE MUTINY

The mutiny left bitter feelings on both sides, creating a gulf between rulers and ruled. The British administrators of India became more aloof and more convinced that they were a master race ruling India; their relations with Indians became less cordial and at times they tended to despise them. For the next fifty years British rule in India was distinguished by efficiency, impartiality and disinterestedness, but it was unimaginative to the extent that it did not take into confidence the educated classes of India. British government had two main aims: preserving good relations with the princes and trying to benefit the mass of the Indian peasants. In 1858 the idea of self-government by Indians seemed very remote and in fact so far away as to be not worth discussing. The concentration of power in the hands of the Governor-General and Viceroy was immense. Through his Executive Council he controlled the machinery of government in British India and through his Legislative Council he made the law. By the Indian Councils Act of 1862 the Viceroy's Executive and Legislative Council were increased in number by adding to them some

British Rule after the Mutiny

nominated unofficial members, thus making them faintly representative in character, but at best they were no more than consultative bodies who were not in any case likely to disagree with official policy, and if they did, their disagreement did not matter. Bengal, Madras, Bombay, the North-west province and the Punjab were also given Provincial Legislative Councils with official and nominated unofficial members.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Besides peace and order, India's economic development was not neglected. A system of railways was constructed after 1860 which had important social and economic results. Most of the 25,000 miles of railways which India possessed by 1900 were built by private companies who were guaranteed a minimum rate of 5 per cent interest on their investment by the government, who retained the right to buy out the companies and nationalize the lines at the end of twenty-five years. Besides making easier the movement of people and goods over the vast distances of the sub-continent, the railways made it possible for India to market her products in the world markets. This was seen when the American Civil War of 1861-5 led to a boom in Indian cotton growing which for a time replaced the cotton that had been grown in the southern states of the U.S.A. More important, this growing network of communications enabled the government to deal with one of the greatest problems of India, that of the famines which recurred from time to time. The rapidly increasing population of India made the problem increasingly serious. The railways enabled the government to move food from surplus areas to famine areas and thus keep starvation in check. Even so, in the great famine of 1876-8 in southern and central India, five million people died in spite of the £11 million spent in relief supplies. Since famines occurred at regular intervals, the government drew up a famine code in 1883 which gave instructions as to the way in which relief should be given once a famine had been declared. It also authorized measures that could be taken in anticipation of famine, such as building roads and irrigation works. Under famine conditions relief took the form of free issue of grain in distressed areas, the provision of

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employment on public works, the granting of loans, or the remission of revenue payments and rent.

The struggle to keep up the food supplies in the face of the steadily growing population was a severe task. Between 1871 and 1901 the population of India increased by about eighty million people. The provision of irrigation works proved of great importance because it enabled more land to be brought into cultivation. It is estimated that by 1938 twenty-seven million acres had been irrigated by 67,000 miles of canals. Only in this way was it possible to provide a bare subsistence for the hungry millions of India.

Though the great majority of India's people still remained peasants on the land, an industrial economy began to take shape during this period. This was helped by the railways and first showed itself in the establishment of cotton mills in the Bombay area. Soon a flourishing manufacture grew up which was able to compete on level terms with Lancashire mills and later those of Japan. In Bengal, around Calcutta, a specialist jute industry developed which gave India a near-monopoly of the production of jute goods. More significant in the early years of the twentieth century was the beginning of heavy industry, for example, the Tata Iron and Steel Company. In the plantation industry, India's greatest success during this period was the development of tea growing. Previously the British market had been almost entirely supplied from China; after 1850 the growth of the Indian tea gardens in Assam changed this.

THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER, 1876-1900

The advance of Russia in Central Asia towards Afghanistan and the north-western side of the Himalayas caused Great Britain alarm. This movement directed British attention to Afghanistan, which in the 1870's was thought to be in danger of falling under Russian control; the gateway to India through the North-west frontier passes would be threatened. A revival of the 'forward' policy which had proved so disastrous in 1838-42 took place when Lord Lytton became Viceroy. In 1876 Quetta was occupied to secure a route into southern Afghanistan. In 1878 the Afghan ruler Sher Ali

The North-West frontier, 1876-1900

refused to receive a British envoy at Kabul whereupon Lytton rushed the British Cabinet into the Second Afghan War of 1878-80. Sher Ali could not stop the invasion from India: no Russian help was given him and he fled from Kabul. His successor made peace with the British; he accepted a British Resident, promised to conduct his foreign relations in accordance with his advice and handed over control of certain frontier districts to the British. Shortly afterwards, the British envoy, Cavagnari, was murdered in Kabul. This brought the British back to Kabul and Kandahar. A nephew of Sher Ali, Abdur Rahman, was recognized in July 1880 as ruler of Afghanistan. He entered into treaty relations satisfactory to the British who gave up their claim to have a Resident at Kabul. The British forces now withdrew after having dealt severely with the rivals of Abdur Rahman when Roberts marched his eighteen thousand men from Kabul to Kandahar in twenty days. While the British now had the friendship of the new ruler of Afghanistan, they had not got that closer control they hoped for. The 'forward' policy which would have incorporated Afghanistan in the British Indian system was abandoned and the defence of India achieved by other means. This was the adoption of the so-called 'Durand Line' which divided the tribal area between Afghanistan and British India. This area needed constant supervision as the tribes were mostly hostile and given to raiding outside their own territory; several minor campaigns in the 1890's were made to keep them in check. A few years later the logical and forceful mind of Lord Curzon imposed a solution on the North-west frontier problem. This was to leave the tribes to defend their own territory and to withdraw British troops to garrison bases in the rear linked with the frontier areas by a good system of roads and railways. To give centralized control of this difficult and important area the North-west frontier province was set up under a Chief Commissioner directly responsible to the Viceroy.

THE VICEROYALTY OF LORD CURZON, 1899-1905

In many respects, the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon was one of the greatest in the history of British India. Curzon himself had a full sense of imperial grandeur and his conduct of his office was like

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that of a great Proconsul of the Roman empire. He was a man of forceful energy, a brilliant administrator and well meaning in his policy towards the masses of India, but he had little use for the political and educated classes, whose demands for self-government and democracy seemed ridiculous to his aristocratic mind. He moved with energy from one department of government to the next and many officials in Calcutta and Simla felt the wind of criticism blowing through their offices. Increasing prosperity enabled Curzon to help the peasant proprietors by reducing taxation. He also helped them by setting up co-operative credit societies in the villages which gave the peasants some protection from the village moneylender. Realizing the vital importance to India of farming, Curzon set up the Indian Agricultural Department in 1903. Irrigation works and railways were extended and a Department of Commerce and Industry established.

While Curzon's measures for the benefit of the peasants of India were generally appreciated, two of his later measures aroused considerable opposition. Curzon thought that the education system, especially that of higher education in which teaching was conducted in English and learning was the learning of the West, was quite unsatisfactory. The Indian universities were not teaching universities but merely examining bodies. Consequently there was an emphasis on cramming to pass examinations which did not encourage intelligent thought or promote a real culture. A Universities Act of 1904 reorganized the Indian universities, increased their teaching functions, introduced a residential element, brought affiliated colleges under strict control and placed official advisers on the governing bodies. This measure was hotly denounced by the politically-minded nationalist intelligensia who were strong in the universities and who saw their influence threatened there. The other unpopular measure of Curzon was his decision to divide the unwieldy Province of Bengal into two. There were nearly eighty million people in Bengal. East Bengal where the population was mainly Moslem had been neglected; it had also poor communications. Curzon set up a new Province of East Bengal and Assam with its capital at Dacca. This partition was denounced as an insult to the patriotism of the Bengali people. Lord Curzon had

The Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon, 1899-1905

been granted a second term of office as Viceroy which started in 1904. He did not remain long in India as he had a quarrel with Kitchener, the Commander-in-Chief, about the position of the military member on the Viceroy's Executive Council. Kitchener wished this office to be abolished and his position and duties transferred to the Commander-in-Chief. Curzon objected strongly, considering that the Commander-in-Chief would be too strong and that the civil power would be dictated to by the military. The home government supported Kitchener and Curzon resigned in 1905. He was succeeded as Governor-General and Viceroy by Lord Minto.

THE BEGINNINGS OF INDIAN INDEPENDENCE

The Viceroyalty of Curzon marked the zenith of paternal but autocratic government of British India. In the years that followed India slowly began to move towards self-government and finally independence. The twentieth century saw an awakening of Asiatic peoples and growing disbelief in the hitherto unchallenged supremacy of the west. Certain events, such as the defeat of Russia by Japan in the war of 1904-5 and the Chinese Revolution against Western intrusion, confirmed the view that the West was not so strong as was once believed. The leaders of the movement for Home Rule were the Indian middle and professional classes. Their education, which had followed the liberal tradition of the nineteenth century, together with a study of the European nationalist movements of that century, made them wish to bring about self-government along strictly constitutional lines. On the other hand, there was a section of Indians led by G. B. Tilak who rejected the learning of the West and all it stood for, in favour of a revived Hindu culture and advocated terrorist methods to overthrow British rule. Both sets of views were expressed through the Indian National Congress which was founded in 1885. Originally this body had been a gathering of Indian intellectuals but it had later become a battleground of the moderate Constitutionalists led by Gokhale and the extremists led by Tilak. The moderates succeeded in gaining control in 1907, leaving the extremists to continue their terrorist murders of British officials and the spreading

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of seditious propaganda in the Indian Nationalist vernacular newspapers.

THE MORLEY-MINTO CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS, 1909

Relatively little had been done since 1858 to associate Indians with the work of government in their own country. The Indian Councils Act of 1892 had increased the number of nominated members, which included some Indians, of the Legislative Council presided over by the Viceroy. Power was also given to discuss but not to vote on the annual budget. With the accession to power in 1905 of the Liberal government headed by Campbell-Bannerman, something was done to bring self-government nearer. Lord Morley, Secretary of State for India, piloted through Parliament the Indian Councils Act of 1909. This appointed an Indian Member to the Viceroy's Executive Council and to each of the Provincial Executive Councils of Bengal, Bombay and Madras. Two Indian members were added to the Council of the Secretary of State for India in London. The Imperial Legislative Council was increased from 25 to 60 members, 27 of whom were non-official and elected by communal or corporate interests. In the Provincial Legislative Councils there was an unofficial elected majority. The reformed Councils could discuss policy, ask questions of the Executive, table resolutions, but they could not initiate legislation of an unofficial character, nor could they table a vote of censure on the government. The system established by these Morley-Minto reforms was representative and not responsible government, but it gave encouragement to moderate opinion in India to co-operate in the change that had been made.

THE MONTAGU DECLARATION, 1917

Lord Hardinge succeeded Lord Minto as Governor-General and Viceroy in 1910. In 1911 King George V held his Durbar as King Emperor at Delhi in place of Calcutta. The unpopular partition of Bengal was reversed and the reconstituted Bengal became a Governor's province. During World War I, India gave generous

The Montagu Declaration, 1917

support, raising over one million men and £100 million for the common cause. This great war effort influenced the British government to reveal its future intentions towards the constitutional status of India in the Montagu Declaration of August 1917:

The policy of H.M. government, with which the government of India are in complete accord, is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration, and the gradual development of self-governing institutions, with a view to the progressive realization of responsible self-government in India as an integral part of the empire.

THE MONTAGU-CHELMSFORD CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS, 1918-20

The fruits of this declaration were the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms of 1918-20. The Government of India Act passed in 1919 gave British India a new constitution. A Legislature of two houses was set up at the centre; the Legislative Assembly with 106 elected and 40 nominated members and a Council of State of 61 members with an unofficial majority. There were eight Provincial Legislative Councils, of whose members 70 per cent were to be elected to give an unofficial majority. There was a transference or devolution of power from the central to the provincial governments in respect of certain financial and legislative matters, for example, the Provinces now received the revenue from irrigation, excise and land tax for their own use, and they could also legislate on certain matters of local importance, such as health and education. The central government retained control of matters such as defence, foreign affairs, customs duties and communications which affected the whole of India. Half the members of the Viceroy's Executive Council were to be Indian, but the Council was not made responsible to the Legislature. In the Provincial Executives, however, by the use of the principle of 'dyarchy', a measure of responsible government was introduced, for example, certain subjects known as 'transferred' subjects, like education, public health, agriculture, etc., were controlled by the Ministers chosen from and responsible to the Provincial Legislatures. The 'reserved' subjects such as revenue, justice, police, were controlled by the Executive Coun-

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cillors responsible to the Provincial Governor and ultimately to the Viceroy and Secretary of State for India. For the rulers of the princely States outside British India, a Chamber of Princes was established; this was to meet annually with the Viceroy to discuss problems of common concern, and to associate the Princes more closely with the new trend of affairs in British India. Finally, after ten years the working of the Act was to be reviewed by a commission.

The new reforms were put into effect at a time when the condition of India was disturbed by the aftermath of war. In 1919 there was serious rioting in the Punjab against the provisions of the Rowlatt Acts which gave the government special powers in emergencies. The agitation against these Acts was led by Gandhi who advocated non-violence and non-cooperation as a means of protest. Instead of non-violence, extensive looting and murder took place and at Amritsar anarchy was prevented by the drastic action of General Dyer who dispersed a mob with heavy loss of life, nearly four hundred people being killed and one thousand wounded. Not since the mutiny of 1857 had there been such violence between Indians and British. The Moslems of India were also much disturbed by the overthrow of the Turkish empire whose Sultan they regarded as the spiritual head of their faith. Much of the blame for this was attributed to the fact that Great Britain had fought Turkey in the war of 1914-18. The Congress party refused to take part in the elections and under the inspiration of Gandhi launched a non-cooperation movement which was only partly successful. It led to a great deal of bloodshed which was deplored by Gandhi, but the government was not overthrown. A third of the electors voted in the elections and ministries were formed in the Provinces. In 1923 the more realistic members of Congress decided to take part in the next elections, a reversal of their former policy. Their aim was not to cooperate with the government, but by becoming part of the machinery to obstruct things from within. They now provided an opposition in both central and provincial governments where the experience they gained helped them for the next move towards self-government.

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MAHATMA GANDHI

From 1918 until Indian independence in 1947, the political situation in British India was dominated by the extraordinary personality of Gandhi. Coming from an orthodox Hindu family in Kathiawar, he had been called to the Bar in London in 1891. He spent twenty years in South Africa where he was the champion of the Indian community against racial discrimination. In South Africa Gandhi first developed his political activity and propaganda based on non-violence. This involved boycotts, days of mourning, non-cooperation and non-violent civil disobedience. Resist not evil; love your enemy as yourself: on such non-violent methods was built up the Gandhian idea of *satyagraha*, or 'soul force' which would win the battle for truth. But Gandhi, though totally sincere in his belief that non-violence was justifiable, was not unnaturally regarded by the government as responsible for the outrages and bloodshed. In 1922 he was arrested and imprisoned until 1924.

For the British government in India, Gandhi proved a baffling character, with his mixture of saintly mysticism and shrewd political sense, his withdrawals to fast for the cause at issue, and his uncanny sense of publicity and timing. To the suffering and poverty-stricken millions of India Gandhi was a holy man, a 'great soul' or 'Mahatma'. Besides his political activities for Indian self-government, Gandhi was directly interested in the social and economic welfare of the Indian people. He was particularly concerned for the socially despised Untouchables who were outside the caste system, and worked hard to break down the evil of untouchability. He encouraged the villagers to develop hand-spinning, weaving and other village industries. This would enable them to become independent of the cheap manufactured goods of the factories and would also help cure the under-employment that existed between the farming seasons. To Gandhi, men were more important than machines.

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THE SIMON COMMISSION AND ROUND TABLE CONFERENCES, 1927-31

In 1927 the Simon Commission was appointed to review the working of the system set up in 1919. Unfortunately no Indian member was appointed and this led to its boycott in India. It published its report in 1930 but by that time it was somewhat out of date, recommending no more than self-government in the Provinces. In 1928 the Indian National Congress had adopted the Nehru Report which demanded dominion status for India within the British Commonwealth. The Viceroy, Lord Irwin, was able to persuade the British government to declare that dominion status was the constitutional goal for India and an all India Round Table Conference was announced. This was boycotted by the National Congress because no guarantee was given that the Conference would draft a constitution giving dominion status. Congress then authorized Gandhi to start another civil disobedience campaign which he did in April 1930, leading to his imprisonment. By the efforts of Lord Irwin, Gandhi agreed in 1931 to end civil disobedience and to attend the second session of the Round Table Conference as the sole representative of Congress but nothing was achieved at this session. Gandhi showed no willingness to negotiate or compromise; he also offended the Indian Moslems and other minorities by his claim that the Hindu-dominated Congress represented them and all the other minorities in India. The third session of the Round Table Conference drew up the basic proposals for a new constitution for India which, after consideration by a joint select committee of the British Parliament, led to the government of India Act of 1935.

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT, 1935

The Act introduced two main changes. First, India was to have a central government of a federal character. Secondly, popular responsible government was to be set up in the Provinces. The number of voters was greatly increased to a total of some thirty-five millions, including six million women. The minorities got

The Government of India Act, 1935

adequate representation on the basis of communal electorates. The Indian Federation was to consist of the Provinces of British India and the Princely States. Membership was compulsory for the Provinces, but the princes had the option of joining. The Federation would only become operative when at least half of the Princely States had joined, but this never came about so the Federal government under the 1935 Act was never constituted. Consequently the central government set up by the Act of 1919 continued to function. On the other hand, the provisions for provincial government were put into effect; Congress won control in seven of the eleven Provinces and the Moslem League in two.

BRITISH INDIA AND WORLD WAR II

In World War II India's fighting men and resources made a great contribution to the Allied war effort, but her politicians, notably Congress, were unfriendly and un-cooperative and took advantage of Great Britain's difficulties. The advance of the Japanese in Malaya and Burma seriously weakened Britain's position in India and it became necessary to make clear her future intentions towards India. Early in 1942 Sir Stafford Cripps was sent on a special mission to India with far-reaching proposals. India was promised freedom at the end of the war, with power to make her own constitution through her own Constituent Assembly, and also a free choice of remaining in or leaving the British Commonwealth. To reassure the Moslems there was the further provision that no Province or State should be compelled to join the Union against its will. The Congress, dominated by Gandhi, rejected the Cripps offer. One particular objection was that the defence of India was to be retained in British hands for the duration of the war. Gandhi, who referred to the offer as 'a post-dated cheque drawn on a crashing bank', now said that the British must quit India. If they did not a campaign of non-cooperation and civil disobedience would follow. The Viceroy's reply was to intern the whole of the All-India Congress Working Committee. The failure of the civil disobedience and the rising tide of British success against the Japanese strengthened the British position in India.

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The Congress had overplayed its hand and was not only faced with the victorious British, but with the rising power of the Moslem League led by Mohammed Ali Jinnah, whose demand was for a separate Moslem State called Pakistan.

JINNAH AND PAKISTAN

The movement for Pakistan was due to the existence in India of over ninety million Moslems who regarded themselves as a separate nation. It was a claim for self-determination along nationalist lines, together with the maintenance of their distinct Islamic culture. In the 1920's and 1930's the Moslem League had co-operated with the Hindu Congress against the British, but the situation changed from 1940 onwards. With the steady decrease in British power pointing to eventual independence the Moslem League realized the danger of Hindu domination of this independent India.

THE PARTITION AND INDEPENDENCE OF INDIA, 1947

When the end of the war came in 1945, the British set about the tremendous task of putting the Cripps offer of 1942 into effect. The most difficult problem facing them was to reconcile the conflicting claims of the Hindu Congress and the Moslem League, the latter now calling for partition which the British government made strenuous efforts to avoid. Early in 1946 a British Cabinet mission under Lord Pethick-Lawrence and including Sir Stafford Cripps, went out to India. It proposed a Federation with Provinces which could, if they wished, form subordinate Unions of their own, a device which it was thought would satisfy the Moslem desire for a separate political existence without going as far as outright partition. An interim government made up of Congress and League members was to govern India until these proposals could be carried out by a Constituent Assembly. The deep-seated conflict between Congress and League prevented this from working properly and the Constituent Assembly which met in December 1946 was boycotted by the League. Meanwhile communal tension

The Partition and Independence of India

between Hindus and Moslems was increasing fast, leading to riots and bloodshed on a great scale. India was drifting into anarchy.

To break the deadlock, the British Prime Minister, Mr Attlee, announced in February 1947 that the British would quit India in June 1948. In succession to Lord Wavell, Lord Mountbatten was appointed Viceroy to carry out the transfer of power and the British withdrawal. On taking office Lord Mountbatten soon realized that partition was inevitable; with skill and patience, in June 1947 he persuaded Hindu Congress, the Moslem League and the Sikhs to accept this policy, painful though it was for the aims and aspirations of them all. The date for the British withdrawal was brought forward to 14 August 1947. The British Parliament in July 1947 enacted the Indian Independence Act which created India and Pakistan as Dominions in the British Commonwealth. Their constitutions were to be drawn up by the Constituent Assemblies chosen in December 1946. The British terminated their treaties with the Princely States which were now obliged to join either India or Pakistan. The majority of them were absorbed by India although a bitter dispute arose with Pakistan over Kashmir which has lasted down to the present time. Pakistan was created out of the North-west Frontier Province, Sind, Baluchistan, the Punjab and Bengal. The last two provinces were divided and in the autumn of 1947 this led to tragic and appalling bloodshed between Hindus and Moslems. The number of dead and injured ran to hundreds of thousands, with some twelve millions more of displaced and homeless people, but by the end of 1947 the partition had been completed and India and Pakistan started on their separate careers.

So ended a decisive period in the long history of India. British rule had lasted for nearly two centuries, during which it had built up an imposing apparatus of government which made the Pax Britannica a reality for the countless millions under its rule. The historian and imperialist J. R. Seeley had spoken prophetically in 1883 when he said: 'The Indian achievement of England as it is the strangest, may after all turn out to be the greatest, of all her achievements.'

THE SMALLER CROWN COLONIES, DEPENDENCIES AND PROTECTORATES

Many of the smaller colonies and dependencies described in this chapter have had a long association with the British empire. For the most part they are islands or small mainland footholds important to Great Britain's trading interests and naval power. Some date from the early years of the first British empire; others were conquests of the colonial wars of the eighteenth century or were annexed in the period of imperial rivalry between the European powers at the end of the nineteenth century. Since 1945 some have changed their status completely, for example, Ceylon and Cyprus have become independent within the Commonwealth. A few still remain at the simplest Crown Colony level where the Governor rules and makes the law.

THE MEDITERRANEAN

Gibraltar

The fortress colony of Gibraltar was captured in 1704 and ceded by Spain at the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713. In the eighteenth century Spain made three attempts to recapture it, the most notable being during the War of American Independence when it was besieged from 1779 to 1783 but saved for Great Britain by the resourceful defence directed by General Elliot. By the Treaty of Versailles, 1783, Spain reaffirmed the cession of this territory. During World War II when it seemed likely that Spain would join the Axis powers the defences of Gibraltar were strengthened and many of the civilian population evacuated. Since 1956 the Legislative Council has had an elected majority but the Governor's Executive Council of four is nominated.

The Mediterranean

Malta

This island, which occupies a key position in the sea-route through the Mediterranean, was occupied in 1530 by the military Order of the Knights of St John. Napoleon at the time of his Egyptian expedition in 1798 captured the island and overthrew the rule of the Knights. French rule proved unpopular and there was a rising of Maltese which with the help of the British forced the French to surrender. By the Treaty of Amiens, 1802, the island was restored to the Knights but the British occupation continued with the consent of the Maltese and by the Peace of Paris, 1814, the island passed under British rule. With its excellent harbour at Valletta, Malta became an important naval base and headquarters of the British Mediterranean Fleet.

During the twentieth century difficulties have arisen in government. In 1887 the island was granted a form of representative government but this was revoked in 1903. In 1921 responsible government was given but owing to disputes over the use of Italian in the law courts and its teaching in the primary schools the constitution was suspended in 1930. Restored in 1932 it was again suspended in 1933 and finally revoked in 1936. In World War II Malta was heavily bombed by Axis planes from Sicily; over 1500 civilians were killed. In recognition of its bravery the island was awarded the George Cross in April 1942. The constitution of 1947 restored self-government subject to the limitation that the 'reserved' matters of defence and security could only be dealt with by the Governor. In 1958 disagreement over economic matters led to the resignation of Mr Mintoff's Ministry and after 1959 government was by the Governor and his nominated official Executive Council. A new constitution was issued in October 1961 which created the State of Malta with self-government except in foreign affairs and defence which were to be dealt with concurrently by the U.K. and Maltese governments.

Cyprus

In 1878 the Sultan of Turkey granted Great Britain the right of occupying and administering Cyprus. It was intended to use the

Smaller Crown Colonies, Dependencies and Protectorates

island as a British military base from which troops could be sent should Russia invade Turkish Asia Minor. In 1925 Cyprus became a Crown Colony with a representative Legislative Council, but following the disturbances of 1931 this was abolished; the Cypriots' demand was for *enosis* or union with Greece. During World War II Cyprus became important as a military and air base and this importance was much increased when Great Britain evacuated the Canal zone in Egypt in 1955. An intense agitation for *enosis* developed after 1950 led by Archbishop Makarios; in 1955 a state of emergency was proclaimed. Much disorder and bloodshed followed with police and military operations against the terrorist-guerrilla fighters; there were also inter-racial riots between the Cypriot and Turkish communities. In February 1959 agreement was reached at the London Conference between the United Kingdom, Greece, Turkey and the leaders of the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities for a sovereign independent republic of Cyprus to be established in February 1960. Great Britain was to retain two military bases under her sovereignty in Cyprus. Owing to delays over agreement on these bases Cyprus did not become independent until 16 April 1960. The Republic has been admitted to the United Nations and to the Commonwealth.

The Ionian Islands

The islands of Corfu, Cephalonia and Zante lying off the Adriatic coast of Greece were occupied by Great Britain during the Napoleonic wars. In 1815 they were formed into the United States of the Ionian Islands and placed under the protection of Great Britain. The Protectorate, although it introduced better roads and the game of cricket, was not politically a success; the islanders, like their Cypriot brethren a hundred years later, wanted union with Greece. Great Britain gave up her protectorate and the islands were ceded to the kingdom of Greece in 1864.

WEST AFRICA

The Gambia (Colony and Protectorate)

Discovered in the fifteenth century by the Portuguese, the estuary of the Gambia river was visited regularly by English traders from

West Africa

1588 onwards. In 1618 James I granted a charter to 'The Company of Adventurers of London trading into Africa' and in 1664 these merchants built Fort James on a small island twenty miles from the river mouth; their object was to protect English trade on the coast from the attacks of the Dutch. In the eighteenth century there was rivalry with the French; the Treaty of Versailles, 1783, recognized British rights over Fort James and the Gambia estuary, while the French were confirmed in their hold over the Senegal coast.

The abolition by Great Britain of the slave trade in 1807 adversely affected the Gambia as this trade had been its chief activity. A revival came in 1816 when British traders who had left Senegal founded the town of Bathurst on St Mary Isle. The settlement was placed under the control of Sierra Leone and annexed to that colony in 1821, but in 1829 a Lieutenant-Governor for Bathurst and its dependencies in the Gambia was appointed. In 1843 Gambia was constituted an independent colony with a Governor and Executive and Legislative Councils. In 1866 it became part of the 'West African Settlements' but in 1888 it became a separate colony again. The Gambia Protectorate dates from the last years of the nineteenth century and consists of narrow strips of land, some seven miles wide, running inland for 200 miles on each side of the Gambia river.

The chief export and staple commodity are groundnuts. In government it has recently moved towards a ministerial system.

The Cameroons (North and South)

After World War I the League of Nations granted mandates to Great Britain and France to administer the former German colony of the Cameroons. British rule started in 1922 and after World War II it was continued in the form of a United Nations trusteeship. The Northern Cameroons were ruled as part of the Northern Region of Nigeria while the Southern were administered separately by the Federal government of Nigeria. In February 1961 plebiscites determined the future of these two territories. The Northern Cameroons chose independence as part of independent Nigeria; the Southern Cameroons became part of the Republic of the Cameroun.

Smaller Crown Colonies, Dependencies and Protectorates

EAST AFRICA

British Somaliland (Protectorate)

In the first half of the nineteenth century the Pashas and Khedives of Egypt established partial control over the African coast bordering the Red Sea. When the Egyptian garrisons were withdrawn in 1884 a British protectorate was proclaimed over the Somaliland coast tribes from Zeila to Berbera. Until 1898 the Protectorate was a dependency of British India and was administered by the Resident at Aden when it was transferred to the control of the Foreign Office, and subsequently in 1905 to that of the Colonial Office. British power in the interior of the Protectorate was not fully established until 1920 when the hostile influence of the 'Mullah' Mohammed Abdulla Hassan was finally broken. During World War II there was a short Italian occupation of British Somaliland in 1940 but the British recovered it in 1941. A Legislative Council was first established in 1956 and political advance was then rapid, with the creation of the independent Republic of Somalia on 1 July 1960. This State was formed by the merger of the British Somaliland Protectorate and the Italian trusteeship territory of Somalia.

Zanzibar and Pemba

The connection of the Sultanate of Zanzibar with the establishment of British influence in East Africa has been described in chapter 18. In 1890 Great Britain ceded Heligoland, a conquest of the Napoleonic wars, to Germany, and also acknowledged French influence over Madagascar. In return the British interest in Zanzibar was recognized and a protectorate proclaimed. While the Sultan's power remained considerable, after 1890 the details of government were supervised by a British Resident. Since 1960 the constitution has moved towards semi-responsible government and a ministerial system, the British Resident now presiding in the Executive Council. Zanzibar with its neighbouring island Pemba are the greatest clove producers in the world but attempts have been made to diversify the economy by extending the growing of coconuts and cocoa trees.

Smaller Crown Colonies, Dependencies and Protectorates

SOUTH AFRICA—THE HIGH COMMISSION TERRITORIES

Basutoland (Colony)

The wars with the Boer trekkers led the Basuto Chief Moshesh to seek the protection of Great Britain. This was given in 1868 when Basutoland was declared British territory. From 1871 it was governed by Cape Colony until 1884 when the United Kingdom government took control. Before 1960 Basutoland was governed by the British Resident Commissioner working through the hereditary chiefs; the constitutional reforms of 1960 gave a representative form of government. There is an Executive Council which advises the High Commissioner and the Paramount Chief and a Legislative Council known as the Basutoland National Council of 80 members, half of whom are elected. This Council can make laws for Basutoland except that defence, external affairs, security and customs are reserved for the High Commissioner.

Basutoland is essentially an African territory; it has no European settlers or landowners, but owes much to the work of the European missions. Its economy is pastoral and there is an export of wool, mohair, hides and skins.

Bechuanaland (Protectorate)

In 1885 Bechuanaland was placed under the protection of the British Crown. Southern Bechuanaland including Mafeking and Vryburg became a Crown Colony in 1895 and afterwards part of Cape Colony and finally of the Union of South Africa. The northern part remained a British protectorate and until 1960 was governed by a Resident Commissioner assisted by a joint Advisory Council, half European and half African. The reforms of 1960 gave a Legislative Council with an elected unofficial majority, and an Executive Council with an official majority.

Swaziland (Protectorate)

The Transvaal Boers wished to extend their eastern borders to the Indian Ocean and control of Swaziland was necessary for this. In 1894 Great Britain agreed that the Transvaal should administer Swaziland but the Boer War of 1899–1902 reversed this and in

Smaller Crown Colonies, Dependencies and Protectorates

1907 a British High Commissioner assumed authority. Swaziland has a varied economy: there is cattle raising, cotton, maize and tobacco growing, timber extraction and mining for iron, coal and asbestos.

THE INDIAN OCEAN

Aden (Colony and Protectorate)

The plundering of an Indian ship in the Red Sea led to the dispatch in 1839 of a naval expedition from British India which captured Aden. Down to 1937 Aden was governed from British India but in that year the Colony of Aden was constituted with its own Governor responsible to the Colonial Office. During the nineteenth century Aden became an important coaling station; in the twentieth it has become equally important as an oil-bunkering centre on one of the main sea-routes of the world.

The Protectorate which is divided into a Western and an Eastern area occupies a strip of territory bordering the Gulf of Aden and Indian Ocean. Most of the Arab rulers in this area are in protective treaty relations with the British government, whereby they have agreed to accept the advice of British Residents and political advisers for the improvement of the administration of their territories. In February 1959 the states of the Western area formed a Federation of South Arabia, but continuing their friendly and protective relationship with Great Britain. At the end of 1962 it was agreed that Aden Colony should become a state of this Federation.

Mauritius

The Portuguese were the first Europeans to visit the island of Mauritius but it received its present name from the Dutch who made a settlement there in 1588. Abandoned by the Dutch in 1710 it was occupied by the French in 1715-22 and developed as an important French naval base in the Indian Ocean. During the Napoleonic wars it was captured by an expedition sent from India; the British feared French aims in the Indian Ocean. Tipu Sultan of Mysore, the enemy of British power in Southern India, and also the Maratha Confederacy had been encouraged and supplied by

The Indian Ocean

the French from Mauritius. The island was ceded to Great Britain by France in 1814.

Mauritius soon became an important sugar producer aided by the granting of preference in the British market in 1825; by 1835 the duties on East Indian sugar were the same as those levied on West Indian. After 1870 Indian labourers were recruited in considerable numbers for the sugar plantations and their descendants today comprise some 70 per cent of the island's population. The original French settlement is represented by the descendants of the French planters; the Code Napoleon remains important in the island's legal system.

Crown Colony government was modified in 1885 when an elective element was introduced into the Legislative Council. In 1948 the Legislative Council was enlarged and given an elected majority. The first stages of a ministerial system were introduced in 1950. The constitution of 1958 was followed by the reforms of 1961 which planned the advance in two stages to full internal self-government for Mauritius.

The Seychelles

The Seychelles are a group of 92 islands in the Indian Ocean 970 miles east of Zanzibar; the most important islands are Mahé, Praslin and La Digue. After reconnaissance in 1742-4 the French annexed Mahé in 1756 but effective occupation did not start till 1768. During the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars the islands were surrendered to Great Britain several times from 1794 onwards; the final capitulation was in 1810 and the Peace of Paris, 1814, ceded the islands to Great Britain. The French Commandant, M. de Quincy, who had governed the Seychelles since 1790, was continued in office by the British after the capitulation of 1810 as Civil Agent, Commandant and Judge until his death in 1827.

The population is about 45,000. It is mainly descended from the original French settlers and from the ex-slaves who, in the early nineteenth century, were liberated from Arab slavers in the Indian Ocean by British naval patrols and settled in the Seychelles. The islands were administered as part of Mauritius until 1889 when separation started with the appointment of an Administrator

Smaller Crown Colonies, Dependencies and Protectorates

with nominated Executive and Legislative Councils, and although the connection with Mauritius remained, the Administrator was given the full powers of a Governor. In 1903 the separate colony of the Seychelles was constituted by letters patent. The elective principle in the Legislative Council was first introduced in 1948 and four unofficial members have been appointed to the Governor's Executive Council.

Ceylon

The Dutch had supplanted the Portuguese in Ceylon in the seventeenth century but their influence was limited chiefly to the western coastal area around the ports of Colombo, Jaffna and Galle. The Kingdom of Kandy in the central hill country remained independent. Like other Dutch footholds in the East, Ceylon was occupied by the British during the wars against the French Revolution. The occupation was carried out by the troops of the English East India Company from Madras in 1795-6. By the Treaty of Amiens, 1802, the Dutch ceded the island to Great Britain who, besides the trading possibilities, valued it for the capacious harbour of Trincomalee on the east coast. For the first few years after its capture the island was governed as a dependency of the Presidency of Madras whose civil servants introduced changes in local administration which aroused Sinhalese opposition. In 1802 the connection with Madras was severed when Ceylon became a Crown Colony with its own Governor and separate administration. The Kingdom of Kandy passed under British rule by treaty in 1815 but in 1817 rebellion broke out there partly owing to Buddhist dislike of the activities of Christian missions.

British rule brought considerable economic development which included the introduction of new crops such as coffee and cinchona; roads and harbours were improved; irrigation tanks were repaired. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century tea growing was successfully established and became the leading plantation crop, taking the place of coffee growing which had been crippled by plant disease. Rubber, cocoa, and coconut palms (copra) also became important for the peasant cultivators. The resulting prosperity gave the government a surplus of revenue which enabled health and educational services to be extended.

The Indian Ocean

Ceylon was one of the first of the Crown Colonies to move towards representative government. In 1833 an Executive Council and a Legislative Council were established; the latter had some nominated unofficial members to represent the communal groups of Sinhalese, Tamils, 'Burghers', and European planters. Further constitutional advances took place in 1912, 1920 and 1924; in the latter year the Legislative Council had 23 unofficial members and 14 official, with four unofficial members sitting in the Executive Council. The Donoughmore Commission of 1927-8 led to a new constitution in 1931. There was a State Council of 61, 50 of whom were elected, and which had both legislative and executive powers. The Council was divided into seven executive committees to administer seven of the ten departments of government. There was a Board of Ministers composed of the chairmen of these seven committees. This constitution was not very successful as the committees tended to by-pass the State Council and negotiate directly with the Governor. After World War II (in which Ceylon became the headquarters of South-east Asia Command directing operations against the Japanese) the recommendations of the Soulbury Commission of 1944-5 were put into effect in the Ceylon Independence Act of 1947 which gave independence within the Commonwealth on and after 4 February 1948. In 1956 a committee of the Ceylon government parliamentary group recommended that Ceylon, like India, should become a republic, but this change has not yet been made.

The Maldivé Islands

These are an archipelago of 2000 coral atolls 400 miles south-west of Ceylon, with a population of 90,000. Since 1887 the Sultans have been under the protection of the British Crown and when Ceylon became independent in 1948 a new agreement reaffirmed this status. By a later agreement of 1960 protection was continued, the Sultan giving Great Britain control of his external affairs and facilities for Her Majesty's Forces to use the islands' air strip. Great Britain undertook not to interfere in the internal affairs of the islands.

Smaller Crown Colonies, Dependencies and Protectorates

Burma

In 1826 Arakan and Tenasserim, coastal areas of lower Burma, were ceded by the king of Burma to the East India Company. In 1852 Pegu, with its important port of Rangoon at the mouth of the Irrawaddy river, was annexed. The hostility of King Thibaw led to the capture of Mandalay and annexation of upper Burma in 1886. Burma was administered as part of British India; roads, railways, canals and schools were built. In 1933 Burma became a Governor's province and the 'dyarchy' of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms was introduced (see chapter 19). Political separation from India was made in 1937 when Burma was given her own Senate and House of Representatives. After the Japanese occupation (1942-5) Burma chose independence outside the Commonwealth and became an independent Republic in January 1948.

THE NORTH ATLANTIC

Bermuda

The colony of Bermuda consists of a group of 300 small islands, twenty of which are inhabited, lying 600 miles off the eastern coast of the U.S.A. It was originally known as the Somers Islands and its early history has been described in chapter 3. In 1684 the charter of the Somers Islands or Bermuda was annulled and Bermuda then became a royal colony. It has retained down to the present day its representative form of government which, dating from 1620, is now the oldest surviving example in the British empire of Governor, Council and Assembly.

Bermuda was used as a naval base by the British naval squadrons in the Atlantic and West Indies until after World War II. In 1941 the U.S.A. was granted 99-year leases of naval and air bases in Bermuda. In the early days of the colony tobacco growing and shipbuilding were the main occupations; today the tourist industry and horticulture predominate.

Smaller Crown Colonies, Dependencies and Protectorates

THE SOUTH ATLANTIC

St Helena

The island was discovered by the Portuguese in 1502. It was annexed and occupied in 1659–61 by the English East India Company for use as a base on the way to India. The position was regularized in 1673 when Charles II granted the Company a charter to occupy and govern the island. In 1815 the Company lent the island to the British government for the reception of Napoleon I who was exiled there till his death in 1821. St Helena remained under the Company's rule till 1833 when it was constituted a Crown Colony by Act of Parliament.

Ascension Island

To prevent possible rescue of Napoleon from St Helena the British government took control of neighbouring islands such as Ascension. It remained a naval station, 'H.M.S. Ascension', until 1922 when it became a dependency of St Helena. Ascension is important as a cable station. The U.S.A. has been granted facilities there in connection with its long-range rocket-proving 'ground'.

Tristan da Cunha

Like Ascension Island the British occupied Tristan in connection with the safeguarding of Napoleon. Subsequently a small population of ex-soldiers of the original garrison and their families inhabited the island, the numbers being added to by shipwrecked sailors. In 1938 Tristan became a dependency of St Helena. The island was commissioned in 1942 as 'H.M.S. Atlantic' for meteorological and radio purposes. In 1948 a South African fishing company started crawfish canning and fishing and these gave the inhabitants the opportunity to earn a modest living. Owing to a volcanic eruption the inhabitants were evacuated in October 1961 to Great Britain, but early in 1963 they decided to return to the island.

The Falkland Islands

The first contacts of Great Britain with these islands have been mentioned in chapter 11. In 1833 the islands were reoccupied and

Smaller Crown Colonies, Dependencies and Protectorates

a Lieutenant-Governor appointed in 1841, followed in 1843 by the assumption of control by the Colonial Office and the appointment of a Governor. After the opening of the Panama Canal the Falklands lost much of their importance as a coaling station; whaling and sheep farming are the most important occupation of the few thousand inhabitants. Government is by a Governor with Executive and Legislative Councils, most of whose members are nominated.

THE CARIBBEAN

The Bahamas

The early history has been related in chapter 6. Royal Governors were appointed after 1717, although it was not till 1729 that the Crown assumed direct control of the colony from the Lord Proprietors whose rights deriving from the grant in 1670 were not finally extinguished until 1787. During the War of American Independence the islands were taken in 1776 by an American squadron and by the Spaniards in 1782; the Peace of Versailles, 1783, reaffirmed British ownership. After this war a number of Empire loyalists from the former American colonies settled in the islands.

The government of the Bahamas is that of the representative type found in the first British empire of Governor, Legislative Council and Assembly; it has been modified to the extent that the Governor is advised by a nominated Executive Council of nine members. Like Bermuda, the Bahamas depend economically on a flourishing tourist industry, mostly from the U.S.A., and for which its favourable climate and subtropical scenery are specially suited.

British Honduras

The beginnings of British Honduras down to the Peace of Paris, 1763, have been described in chapter 6. Notwithstanding the recognition Spain had made of British rights to cut logwood in this area she continued to make attempts to recapture it, the last being the battle off St George's Bay in 1798 when the *Baymen*, with the help of H.M. sloop *Merlin*, repulsed a heavy Spanish attack. The British occupation was thus maintained but it seems that

The Caribbean

Spanish sovereignty over the area, admitted by the treaties of Paris (1763) and Versailles (1783), remained intact. In 1862 the British government asserted its sovereignty by declaring British Honduras a colony with a Lieutenant-Governor under the control of the Governor of Jamaica.

The government of the settlement down to the middle of the nineteenth century was based on the 'Public Meeting' of all the free inhabitants who elected magistrates and passed laws. This system received official recognition when in 1765 Admiral Burnaby was sent from Jamaica; he acknowledged the position of the elected magistrates and carried out a codification of the laws passed by the Public Meetings. The British government sent out a Superintendent in 1786; the office lapsed in 1791 but was revived in 1797 and continued until the appointment of a Lieutenant-Governor in 1862. By the early nineteenth century the Public Meeting had become something like a legislative assembly composed of the wealthier inhabitants and numbering between fifty and seventy members. It was frequently in conflict with the Superintendents but gradually its powers were restricted and those of the Executive increased. Thus in 1840 an Executive Council of nominated official members was formed and in 1853 the Public Meeting gave up its powers in favour of a Legislative Assembly of 18 elected and 3 nominated members. The movement towards pure Crown Colony government continued and in 1870 by a local Act the Crown was empowered to nominate all but four of the members of the Assembly. In 1884 the connection with Jamaica was severed and British Honduras became a separate colony with its own Governor. Under its present constitution of 1960 British Honduras has semi-responsible government with a ministerial system. Seven members of the Legislative Assembly have seats in the Executive Council. There is a Legislative Assembly of 25 members, 18 of whom are elected, 5 nominated, 2 are official members and a nominated Speaker presides.

Turks and Caicos Islands

They are a group of islands lying about 70 miles south-east of the Bahamas which they resemble geographically. In the seventeenth

Smaller Crown Colonies, Dependencies and Protectorates

century Bermudans visited these islands to rake salt from the lagoons; after 1783 a number of American loyalists settled here. In 1799 the Bahamas, against the wishes of the inhabitants, annexed the islands, but in 1848 they became a separate colony subject to supervision by the Governor of Jamaica; in 1873 an Order in Council annexed the islands to Jamaica. The production of salt by solar evaporation and fishing are the chief occupations. The intention was for these islands to pass under Federal Supervision when the West Indies Federation of 1958 attained independence.

The Cayman Islands

There are three islands, Grand Cayman, Cayman Brac and Little Cayman, lying about 180 miles north-west of Jamaica. Discovered by Columbus in 1503 their early history was bound up with that of Jamaica after its conquest by the English in 1655, when the Caymans were visited from Jamaica for the purpose of collecting turtles for food. Deserters, ex-buccaneers and fugitives from justice formed the nucleus of a population, increased in the early eighteenth century by settlers with their slaves. Like British Honduras a primitive form of government developed, that of a 'Public Meeting' of the inhabitants. By an Act of the Imperial Parliament in 1863 the Caymans became a dependency of Jamaica but retained their own legislature. In 1962 internal self-government combined with special associate status with the West Indies Federation was planned for a period of five years at the end of which the islands could petition the Crown to resume responsibility for them on the basis of colony status.

British Guiana

Early English attempts to establish a foothold in Guiana have been mentioned in chapter 3. Their failure did not deter Lord Francis Willoughby, who in 1651 founded a colony at Surinam. This prospered by sugar growing until it was captured in 1667 by the Dutch who subsequently retained it. Dutch influence predominated in this area throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with their colonies of Berbice, Demerara and Essequibo. It was Dutch skill and knowledge of water engineering that enabled them

The Caribbean

to dyke and drain the low-lying coastland, thus making it habitable and suitable for sugar growing. In 1796 these territories were taken by the British, restored in 1802 (Treaty of Amiens), recaptured in 1803 and finally ceded by the Dutch in 1814. Great Britain, by the terms of the capitulations of 1796 and 1803, undertook to respect the existing laws and usages. Thus Roman-Dutch law remained the basis of the legal system; the Court of Policy, a body with some representative members and limited legislative and financial powers, continued, although the Crown had the right to legislate by Order in Council as it did to enforce the emancipation of slaves in 1833. In 1831 the three provinces were united to form the colony of British Guiana. In the next twenty years there was much conflict between the Combined Court (formed by the Court of Policy and the six Financial Representatives chosen by a College of Electors) and the Governor over the voting of supply. The planters of the Court of Policy resented the labour shortage due to emancipation and more particularly the loss of preference after 1846 for their sugar in the British market when Great Britain adopted a free trade policy.

A supply of labour for British Guiana (and also the West Indian islands) was obtained by organizing immigration from the East, chiefly India. Between 1838 and 1917 over 230,000 Indian immigrants came to British Guiana. The British government was at first reluctant to allow this immigration, as it suspected it might be a disguised form of slavery. Eventually it imposed control of immigration by insisting on a contract for the immigrant which specified the length and conditions of service, and by medical inspection of immigrants and the ships they travelled in.

In 1891 an Executive Council was created to carry out those executive duties previously done by the Court of Policy. Another change was that the unofficial members of the Court of Policy were now directly elected instead of the indirect election by the Court of Electors, which was now abolished. The changes of 1891 remained the basis of government down to 1928 when a new constitution was given; this abolished the Court of Policy and Combined Court and replaced them by a Legislative Council which, although it had the same number of elected members, had

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not the control of expenditure exercised by the old Combined Court. Since World War II the constitutional history of British Guiana has been somewhat stormy. In 1953 a new constitution based on universal suffrage and with a ministerial system and two-chamber Legislature was suspended after only six months working because the British government considered that the rule of the Peoples Progressive party under Dr Cheddi Jagan was likely to lead to a Communist regime. From 1953 to 1957 government was carried out under a constitution in which both Executive and Legislative Councils were composed of official and nominated members. A new constitution which gave semi-responsible government was introduced in 1957 followed by one in 1961 which gave British Guiana full internal self-government, but with defence and external affairs reserved to H.M.'s government.

THE FAR EAST

Hong Kong

The colony includes the island of Hong Kong, the peninsula of Kowloon on the mainland opposite and the leased 'New Territories' beyond. During the Opium War of 1838-42 with China, British naval forces used the fine harbour of Hong Kong, and British merchants left the disturbed area of Canton to settle there. Lying on the main trade route to China its strategic and commercial importance led to its occupation in 1841; its cession to Britain was confirmed by the Chinese in the Treaty of Nanking, 1842. Like Singapore its population and trade increased under British rule. The British aim of assuring the safety of Hong Kong harbour by acquiring the peninsula of Kowloon which dominated it was attained in 1860 when this was ceded by the Convention of Peking. Later in 1898 to move the land frontier of the colony further inland and so place Hong Kong out of the range of hostile artillery the 'New Territories' beyond Kowloon were leased from the Chinese government for a period of ninety-nine years. But these precautions availed little under conditions of modern warfare in World War II when the Japanese captured Hong Kong in December 1941. Since 1945 when it was recovered the colony has made rapid progress.

The Far East

Its population, mostly Chinese, now numbers nearly three million. Hong Kong has large-scale manufactures, especially of unfinished cotton cloth, rubber footwear, electrical goods and clothing which compete strongly in world markets.

Brunei

Situated on the north-west coast of Borneo, Brunei is a State which came under British protection by treaties of 1847 and 1888. In 1906 the Sultan agreed to accept a British Resident but this post was abolished by the agreement of 1959 when the Sultan issued the first constitution for Brunei. H.M.'s government remain responsible for defence and external affairs and a British High Commissioner has been appointed to advise the Sultan on these matters. The considerable prosperity of Brunei derived from the Seria oilfields has enabled extensive development plans affecting health, education, welfare and economic development to be put into effect.

North Borneo

The colony (30,000 square miles) was formerly part of the Sultanate of Brunei. In 1881 the British North Borneo Company was chartered to administer the cessions of land made earlier by the Sultan. The Company ruled North Borneo, which had the status of a British protected State, until the Japanese invasion in 1942. After liberation in 1945 the Company which was the last of the British Chartered Companies to exercise sovereign rule relinquished its rights and the new Crown Colony of North Borneo was constituted in 1946. The neighbouring island of Labuan, which had been a separate colony from 1846 to 1890 and then part of the Straits Settlements, was attached to the new colony of North Borneo in 1946.

Sarawak

The British connection in the large territory (47,500 square miles) of Sarawak started with the arrival in 1839 of James Brooke, a former officer of the East India Company's army. Brooke found Sarawak in revolt against the oppressive rule of the Viceroy of the Sultan of Brunei. He restored order, was acclaimed as Rajah and soon established an astonishing ascendancy over the Dayak peoples.

Smaller Crown Colonies, Dependencies and Protectorates

After recognition by the Sultan of Brunei, Brooke suppressed piracy and headhunting. In 1861 the original territory placed under Rajah Brooke's rule was enlarged and further additions were made at intervals down to 1905. The British government recognized Sarawak as an independent State in 1864; in 1888 it was placed under British protection.

From the earliest days the Brooke dynasty ruled on the principle of 'rule with and for the people' and this took the form of advisory councils with popular representatives. The Supreme Council and Council Negri were set up in 1855. Three generations of Brookes had ruled Sarawak when the Japanese occupation took place in 1942. After liberation the Rajah ceded his rights to the Crown and Sarawak became a Crown colony in 1946. In 1956 a new constitution gave Sarawak a Supreme Council, and a Council Negri with an elected majority.

THE WESTERN PACIFIC

Fiji

Fiji includes about 320 islands of which 100 are inhabited. The two chief islands are Viti Levu and Vanna Levu. The population, in which Fijians and Indians predominate, is about 390,000. Fiji was voluntarily ceded to the Crown in 1874 by the leading chief, who for some years previously had been seeking the help of Britain against his rivals. There is a well-developed system of local government dating from 1876 and known since 1945 as the Fijian Administration and which has jurisdiction over all Fijians; it is based largely on Fijian institutions and works through a Council of Chiefs with a Fijian Affairs Board. The economy of the islands includes the growing of cash crops such as sugar (in which Indian peasant farmers are important), copra, bananas, fishing and subsistence farming; there is some mining of gold and manganese.

Pitcairn Island

Pitcairn, with its tiny population of 130 descended from the mutineers of the *Bounty* (1790) and Tahitian women, was administered by the High Commissioner for the Western Pacific until 1952 when it was placed under the Governor of Fiji.

The Western Pacific

Western Pacific High Commission

This was created in 1877 with jurisdiction over all islands not within the territory of Australia, New Zealand or Fiji, or subject to any other power. Down to 1952 the High Commissionership and Governorship of Fiji were held together and the headquarters of the Commission were at Suva in Fiji. Since 1952 the association with Fiji has been broken and the Commission's headquarters are now at Honiara in the British Solomon Islands. Besides the British Solomon Islands Protectorate, the Commission administers the colony of Gilbert and Ellice Islands and participates, with France, in the joint rule of the New Hebrides.

The British Solomon Islands Protectorate

The group was first discovered by the Spaniard Mendana in 1568 when on a voyage from Peru. Between 1893 and 1900 a British protectorate was proclaimed over the islands. During World War II the Japanese in their advance towards Australasia occupied them. Copra is the principal export.

Gilbert and Ellice Islands

These include some 37 islands spread over a very large extent of ocean and which were brought under the jurisdiction of the High Commissioner for the Western Pacific in 1877. A protectorate was proclaimed in 1892 and the islands were annexed in 1915 when they became a colony. The principal exports are copra and phosphates.

The New Hebrides

These islands were first discovered by the Spaniard De Quiros in 1606 and were charted by Captain Cook in 1774. In the nineteenth century a number of British and French missionaries, traders and planters established themselves in the islands. By an agreement of 1906 between France and Great Britain a joint Anglo-French rule or condominium was set up.

Smaller Crown Colonies, Dependencies and Protectorates

Tonga (The Friendly Islands)

The kingdom of Tonga came under British protection in 1900. The Treaty of Friendship of 1959 between Great Britain and Tonga continues British protection but increases the powers of Tonga as regards internal government. The Governor of Fiji is the Chief Commissioner for Tonga. Copra and bananas are the chief exports.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE EMPIRE AND COMMONWEALTH, 1870-1945

THE PATTERN OF DEVELOPMENT

By about 1870 the British empire of the nineteenth century was developing along two distinct lines. There were the self-governing colonies of Canada, Australia and New Zealand, and by contrast the dependencies governed by varying systems of Crown Colony government. Some of these dependencies were survivals of the first empire, such as the islands in the West Indies. Others were conquests of the Napoleonic War or later, taken for strategic or commercial reasons, such as Ceylon, Mauritius, Hong Kong and Aden. Britain also retained her naval and fortress colonies of Gibraltar, Malta and Bermuda. The British empire in India occupied a somewhat special position between these two groups. Its government resembled that of Crown Colony government at this time but it was on a much more magnificent scale. India, by reason of its size, great population and ancient civilization was

The Pattern of Development

destined to become a dominion and to move to self-government sooner than the other Crown colonies of the empire.

THE SELF-GOVERNING COLONIES

What had responsible self-government given such colonies as Canada, New Zealand, Australia? It meant that they were self-governing in respect of all their internal affairs, but there were some constitutional limitations. Thus the Colonial Laws Validity Act of 1865 affirmed the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament over the colonial legislatures which could not make laws conflicting with any Acts of the Imperial Parliament extending to their particular colony. There was also the power of reservation and disallowance, which meant that Governors-General and Governors could declare legislation of dominion and self-governing colonies reserved for the signification of the sovereign's pleasure. It was also possible for legislation to be disallowed by the sovereign acting on the advice of his responsible Ministers in the United Kingdom. But all these powers were very rarely used and in practice were not burdensome to the self-governing colonies.

There was also a further limitation that the self-governing colonies had no power of extra-territorial legislation; that is, they could not make laws which operated outside their own territorial limits. In the conduct of foreign relations, for example. foreign policy, declarations of war and the making of peace and international treaties, the self-governing colonies were dependent on Great Britain. It was not till after World War I in 1918 that they acquired the right of separate treaty-making and their own ambassadorial representation in foreign countries.

THE CROWN COLONIES

In the case of the Crown colonies in 1870 there was a sharp contrast with the self-governing colonies. Crown Colony government was basically a concentration of powers in the hands of the executive represented by the Governor and his Executive Council. But by this time most Crown Colonies had acquired Legislative Councils

Development of Empire and Commonwealth, 1870

as well, to help the Governor in the work of making laws or ordinances for the Colony. But most of these Legislative Councils at this time had nominated and not elected representatives. Again, most of the nominated members of these Councils were 'official' members—that is, members of the government. But the principle was slowly making headway that some unofficial members should be nominated to the Legislative Council. This made it possible for an expression of unofficial opinion in the Colony, usually that of white settlers or business men. But later in the nineteenth century unofficial members from the native inhabitants of the colony were nominated to the Legislative Council.

CRITICS OF THE EMPIRE

The growth of the British empire between 1830 and 1870 had not been received with universal acclamation. There was outspoken criticism in Great Britain from the 'Manchester School', led by John Bright and Richard Cobden. They firmly believed that colonies were useless and liable to promote wars between nations. They were a burden to Great Britain because of the cost of maintaining imperial garrisons, and the 'Manchester School' constantly pointed out that our trade with the United States (our former colony) was, apart from India, more valuable than our trade with all our colonies. The 'Manchester School' were 'Little Englanders'. They believed that free trade would unite the world in peaceful trading and they cared not at all for colonies. Great Britain, with her vast manufacturing industry exporting to world markets, had no need of such things. Cobden wrote: 'Our dependencies are supported at an expense in direct taxation of more than five millions annually. They serve but as gorgeous and ponderous appendages to swell our ostensible grandeur but in reality, to complicate and magnify our government expenditure without improving our balance of trade.'

To the 'Manchester School', the sooner the colonies separated from the mother-country the better. Their view was a narrow one and based largely on materialistic considerations. It was opposed, in the period 1850-70, by the cautious support given to colonies

Critics of the Empire

by responsible British statesmen such as Gladstone, Stanley and Grey. Without being wildly enthusiastic for colonies, these men took a longer view than the 'Manchester School'. They pointed out that, quite apart from the benefits of trade, Great Britain exercised an influence for good in these dependencies and was a means of assisting their development. By the settlement of colonies Great Britain had acquired a certain responsibility towards them, which she could not throw off for the sake of saving a few million pounds in the way so ardently urged by Cobden and Bright. It was felt that the policy of the Durham Report in granting responsible self-government was the right one. The white-settled colonies would have the freedom either to remain in friendly association with Great Britain, or, if they wished, to secede.

GROWTH OF IMPERIALISM

In the last thirty years of the nineteenth century, the pressure of international events led to a much more decisive imperial policy and also a more confident expression by Great Britain of a belief in her imperial destiny. A new situation had arisen with the appearance of European powers ready to take part in a bid for empire. The new States of Germany and Italy as well as France and the United States of America were becoming increasingly involved in a scramble for colonies, their markets and raw materials. At this time Great Britain's aims in the world were still largely economic. They were free trade aims and looked to the expansion of markets in the world. The movements of these other countries towards colonies and the fact that they were adopting policies of protection was a threat to Great Britain's economic position. This was reflected in the 1880's by considerable industrial depression. It was clear that Great Britain was no longer the workshop of the world. There were other rivals whose industries were competing in these world markets. Great Britain therefore had to carry out a reappraisal of the situation and to find means of maintaining her export trade. Her empire now took on a wider significance in this struggle for world markets. Besides the threat to her industrial supremacy there was a threat to her hitherto unchallenged naval

Development of Empire and Commonwealth, 1870-1945

supremacy. This had a bearing on the question of defence of her world-wide empire, and imperial defence as a serious problem began to occupy the minds of British and colonial statesmen.

In the next twenty years the need for colonial settlement and for establishing closer links with our colonies for the working out of a common policy for trade and defence were the themes of politicians and propagandists who spoke and wrote about the empire. As in the earlier years of the century, emigration to white-settled colonies which still had vacant spaces would be far more profitable for Great Britain than indulging in European wars. It would also help to solve the problem of unemployment at home. Others saw that the attainment of self-government by the white-settled colonies now made possible consultation on equal terms between Great Britain and these colonies regarding such matters as common policies in defence and trade.

Disraeli, always quick to sense a change in opinion, had been one of the first to give expression to these views. In his speech at the Crystal Palace in June 1872 he pointed out that an opportunity had been missed when self-government had been granted to the white-settled colonies. In his view, this self-government should have been consolidated by an imperial tariff, by strict control of the Crown lands, by the assignment of responsibility for defence, and by giving the means of mutual consultation between Great Britain and her self-governing colonies. On a more general note, Disraeli threw out a challenge:

The issue is not a mean one. It is whether you will be content to be a comfortable England, modelled and moulded upon continental principles and meeting in due course an inevitable fate, or whether you will be a great country, an imperial country, a country where your sons, when they rise, rise to paramount positions, and attain not merely the esteem of their countrymen but command the respect of the world.

From 1885 to 1905 British imperialism reached its highest peak of development both in thought and action. It had a number of devoted and forceful propagandists, notably Joseph Chamberlain and Lord Rosebery, who were able to get acceptance of their ideas by the British public at large. Imperialism was taken up by the growing popular press of the day which presented it in a form

Growth of Imperialism

acceptable to the British working class, now literate because of elementary education. It was also supported by finance-capital which was attracted by the prospects of profit in any expansion of empire, and it was this aspect that was attacked by J. A. Hobson in his critical study *Imperialism* (published 1902). Hobson saw imperialism as being primarily for the advantage of financiers and adventurers who manipulated for their own advantage the patriotic and humanitarian forces associated with empire. At the same time Hobson was not opposed to the trustee aspect of imperialism which gave protection and education to subject peoples as a preparation for eventual independence.

JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN AT THE COLONIAL OFFICE

Joseph Chamberlain, the prophet of the new imperialism, had in his earlier days been a Radical but moved steadily towards the right, finally joining the Conservative party over the issue of Home Rule for Ireland in 1886. It is significant that he left the Liberal party over their decision to give home rule to Ireland, which he regarded as an attempt to break up the empire. In 1895 Chamberlain became Colonial Secretary in Lord Salisbury's Conservative government, and he at once made his mark, not merely as a propagandist of imperialism but as an efficient administrator. As a successful business man, he realized the possibilities of planned development and the application of money. Soon after his becoming Colonial Secretary he made the following statement:

I regard many of our colonies as being in the condition of undeveloped estates, and estates which never can be developed without imperial assistance. I shall be prepared to consider very carefully any case in which by the judicious investment of British money, those estates which belong to the British Crown may be developed for the benefit of their population and for the benefit of the greater population which is outside.

Like Rhodes and Kipling, Chamberlain believed in the fitness of the British race to rule. He expressed it thus: 'I believe that the British race is the greatest of governing races that the world has ever seen.' In a later statement (1897) Chamberlain expressed his belief in the imperial mission in the Crown colony dependencies.

Development of Empire and Commonwealth, 1870-

The welfare of the subject peoples was important and the work of civilization would be advanced by British imperial enterprise.

Chamberlain revolutionized policy towards the Crown colonies whose economic and administrative development had been neglected for most of the century because of the reluctance of the British government to invest any money in them. Chamberlain altered this by getting grants-in-aid and making it possible for the colonies to raise loans on the London market at a low rate of interest for development purposes. These loans paid for the building of railways and harbours in colonies like Jamaica, Sierra Leone, Gold Coast and Nigeria. Without rail transport the resources of these colonies could not be developed. In his forward-looking way, Chamberlain applied science to colonial problems. His Imperial Department of Agriculture in the West Indies for the scientific investigation of local agricultural problems has already been mentioned. A similar department was created for West Africa, but the major problem of colonial administration was that of tropical diseases, particularly malaria and sleeping sickness. A Bureau of Hygiene and Tropical Disease was set up and also schools of tropical medicine in London and Liverpool, to carry further the work pioneered by Ronald Ross, who had discovered the connection between malaria and the mosquito. The authority of the Colonial Office and the beginnings of a unified administration of the dependent empire was carried a step further by Chamberlain when he brought under the control of his office most of the protectorates, especially in Africa, which hitherto had been administered by the Foreign Office. The beginnings of a unified colonial service were also due to Chamberlain.

COLONIAL AND IMPERIAL CONFERENCES, 1887-1911

In his dealings with the self-governing colonies, Chamberlain was influenced by three motives: to bring about a closer political relationship with Great Britain by means of an imperial federation; to link the empire economically by imperial preferences and to organize imperial defence. These were the leading topics of discussion at the colonial and imperial conferences held at intervals

Colonial and Imperial Conferences, 1887-1911

from 1887 onwards. The first colonial conference met in 1887 amidst the celebrations of the fifty years of rule by Queen Victoria. Besides representatives from the self-governing dominions, there were also representatives of the Crown colonies. The discussions were quite informal, but chiefly were concerned with matters of imperial defence. This could be best carried out by a strong imperial navy, and the Australian colonies and New Zealand agreed to pay part of the cost of maintaining a strong naval squadron in the Pacific. The idea of imperial federation was hinted at during this conference, but it got little response from the representatives present. In 1894 a conference met at Ottawa largely on the initiative of the Canadian government. It discussed imperial communications leading to the establishment of inter-colonial penny postage in 1898, and also a number of cables linking the British empire in an 'all red' route.

In 1897 the Queen's Diamond Jubilee was celebrated. In this year Chamberlain presided over a colonial conference to which were invited only the Prime Ministers of the eleven self-governing colonies, with no representatives from the Crown colonies. The matters discussed were largely those of imperial defence and imperial preference, but Chamberlain attempted to raise his favourite topic of imperial federation. On this he received little support except from New Zealand and Tasmania. The idea of a closely defined political union between Great Britain and the self-governing colonies was attacked by Sir Wilfred Laurier, Prime Minister of Canada. With considerable wisdom he pointed out the advantage of a loosely organized and undefined organization such as was in existence at the time and which was to develop in the future into the Commonwealth of Nations. Regarding defence the naval agreement with Australia and New Zealand was continued and some other colonies as well agreed to make a contribution to naval defence. On matters of trade, the idea of imperial preference was urged and the self-governing colonies undertook to give preference to British goods imported into their countries over imports from foreign countries. Great Britain, still a free-trade country, made no corresponding gesture in return.

Before the next colonial conference in 1902, the South African

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War had intervened. To this war Australia, New Zealand and Canada had sent military contingents to help and this, in many ways, had been an impressive demonstration of the imperial unity that existed. Opening the conference Chamberlain spoke of 'the weary Titan staggering under the two vast orbs of its fate'. It was therefore necessary that the Dominions should share the burden of imperial defence. All the colonies, except Canada, who decided to set up a navy of her own, agreed to make contributions to the cost of the navy for imperial defence. To meet the views of the self-governing colonies on imperial preference Chamberlain now decided to embark on a policy of tariff reform which would have meant the abandonment of the traditional free-trade policy of Great Britain. He failed in this and contributed to the defeat of the Conservative party in the General Election of 1905. It was not until 1932 that imperial preference was fully established.

The conference of 1907 took the name of Imperial Conference and also defined membership and procedure more closely than hitherto. Membership was to be confined to the Prime Minister and Colonial Secretary of the United Kingdom and the Prime Ministers of the self-governing colonies. The Prime Minister of the United Kingdom was to preside. Meetings were to take place every four years. At the imperial conferences of 1907 and 1911 Great Britain gave increasing recognition of the growing independence and advancing status of the self-governing colonies henceforth known as Dominions. In view of the threatening international situation, Great Britain, although she retained full control of foreign policy and defence, took the Dominions into consultation on these matters; the Foreign Secretary, Sir Edward Grey, gave a long and confidential account to the Prime Ministers from the Dominions of the worsening of relations between the great European powers. Dominion members were also admitted to the Committee of Imperial Defence. They were also promised that they should be consulted by Great Britain when she was making international agreements which would affect them as well. Sir Joseph Ward, the Prime Minister of New Zealand, proposed an Imperial Parliament of 297 members with an Executive Council. This body was to conduct matters of defence and foreign policy of

Colonial and Imperial Conferences, 1887-1911

the whole empire, but this was rejected. Great Britain and the other Dominions thought that imperial unity could best be preserved by retaining local independence. Like so many other British institutions, the system of consultation and co-operation between Great Britain and the Dominions worked quite well without the necessity of putting it into a written scheme, and the Dominions were well content to remain units within a greater unity.

THE EMPIRE AND WORLD WAR I (1914-18)

In World War I from 1914 to 1918 there was an impressive demonstration of empire unity. All the Dominions and the Crown colonies gave unstintingly to the war effort against Germany and her allies. The four white Dominions between them raised over one and a quarter million men which they equipped and paid from their own resources. The empire of India raised one million men, besides which there were contingents from the Crown colonies. These troops played a distinguished part in the military operations against Germany and its allies.

In the Pacific the Australian and New Zealand forces soon captured German New Guinea and German Samoa. The Australian navy also dealt successfully with commerce raiders such as the *Emden*. The German colonies in West Africa, Togoland and the Cameroons, were occupied by joint Anglo-French expeditions (1915). The conquest of German South-west Africa was delayed until May 1915 because of a small-scale rebellion led by a few of the old fanatical Afrikaners against the Union government's policy of assisting Great Britain. The conquest of German East Africa took much longer and the campaign continued until 1918 because of the skill of the German Commander in this area.

In the Near East campaigns the Australian and New Zealand Army corps took a leading part, first in the Gallipoli campaign and afterwards in the conquest of Palestine and Syria. On the Western front the Australian infantry proved themselves some of the greatest fighters of the whole war. The Canadian army distinguished itself entirely on the Western front, at the ferocious battles around Ypres, Vimy Ridge and Arras.

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THE DOMINIONS BECOME INDEPENDENT NATIONS

The war had important effects upon the constitutional development of both the empire and the Dominions. The Dominions had made the efforts of independent and separate nations and recognition was given to this by the creation in 1917 of an Imperial War Cabinet which would give them a share in the making of decisions regarding the conduct of the war. The Imperial War Cabinet was presided over by the Prime Minister with five members of the British War Cabinet, the Dominion Prime Ministers, and representatives of British India and the British Colonial Secretary representing the dependent empire. The Dominions now shared responsibility for the conduct of the war on a basis of equality with Great Britain. In 1917 there also met the Imperial War Conference, a wartime version of the normal imperial conference. It met to discuss Empire affairs in general; its Resolution IX stated an important principle for future development. This strongly recommended that after the war the constitutional relations of the various parts of the empire should be adjusted so that the self-government already possessed by the Dominions in their internal affairs should be extended to include foreign policy and external relations and that there should be consultation and common action on important matters of imperial concern. The conference also agreed on imperial trade preferences and Great Britain gave limited preferences in her market to products from the Dominions and colonies.

At the making of the peace treaties in 1919 and the formation of the League of Nations, the separate national status of the Dominions was clearly shown. Their outstanding war effort clearly entitled them to separate representation at the peace conference table and their demand for this was supported by the British government and also by the Supreme Council of the Allied powers. Consequently the Dominions had their own delegates: Canada, Australia, South Africa and India (although not yet a self-governing dominion), had two delegates each, and New Zealand one. In addition there was the British empire delegation of five members representing the dependent empire. Each Dominion signed the peace treaties with the defeated powers separately and each Dominion

The Dominions Become Independent Nations

Parliament gave formal approval to the various treaties. When the League of Nations was set up in 1919 Canada, Australia, South Africa and New Zealand each received separate representation. Some of the ex-German colonies were entrusted to the new Dominions under mandate from the League. A further recognition of the independence of the Dominions was the recognition of their right of legation, that is, to have separate diplomatic representations in foreign countries.

THE STATUTE OF WESTMINSTER, 1931

The change that had come about in the status of the self-governing Dominions had been carried out along typically British lines; it had been gradual and informal. It had been possible to bring about this state of affairs because of a common allegiance to the Crown and the ties of blood, history and culture. There was, however, after 1921 a growing desire in some of the Dominions, notably Canada, South Africa and the new dominion of the Irish Free State for a closer and more formal definition of their constitutional status. This was partly due to their fear that they might be involved in the consequences of a British-made foreign policy. Thus, when war threatened in 1922 over the Chanak incident with Turkey, Canada and South Africa disowned responsibility. As a result the principle was established by 1923 that active obligations in foreign affairs could not be placed on the Dominions by Great Britain without their consent. Besides pressing for an exact definition of their constitutional status certain of the Dominions such as Canada, South Africa and the Irish Free State wanted the removal of those remnants of their legislative and judicial inferiority which still survived although in practice their working had not proved at all burdensome.

The work of the imperial conferences of 1926 and 1930 led to this closer definition and removal of inferiorities. In 1926 the conference referred to the self-governing Dominions as follows: 'They are autonomous communities within the British empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance

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to the Crown and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations.' The conference of 1930 was followed by the enactment of the Statute of Westminster which was a statutory removal of such legal inferiorities as remained in the relationships of the Dominions with Great Britain.

The main provisions of the Statute of Westminster were:

(1) In view of the importance of the Crown in the British Commonwealth of Nations any changes in the law of succession or the Royal Style and Titles would require the assent of the Dominion Parliaments as well as that of the Parliament of the United Kingdom.

(2) Laws passed by the Parliament of the United Kingdom would not extend to any of the Dominions except at the request and with the consent of the Dominion concerned.

(3) The Parliaments of the Dominions were freed from the restriction on their powers of legislation hitherto imposed by the Colonial Laws Validity Act of 1865.

(4) The Dominion Parliaments were given power to make laws having extra-territorial operation.

THE OTTAWA CONFERENCE, 1932

The great decline in world trade leading to intense competition in foreign markets had compelled Great Britain to abandon her free-trade policy. By the Import Duties Act of 1932 a system of protection against imports was introduced. This change in policy made it possible for Great Britain to negotiate preferential agreements with the Dominions and empire. In July 1932 an imperial economic conference met at Ottawa to discuss the problem. As a result Great Britain signed a number of agreements with each Dominion while the Dominions in some cases negotiated special agreements between each other. Great Britain made extensive concessions to the Dominions; she agreed to admit many Commonwealth and empire products, mainly foodstuffs and raw materials, free of duty and at the same time to impose duties on similar goods of foreign origin. The Dominions in return agreed to grant British manufactured goods increased preference in their markets. Besides customs duties the quota system was also introduced. By this Great Britain fixed the total amount of any given commodity

The Ottawa Conference,

that would be imported into Great Britain, and the share of this quota was allotted between the Dominions and other exporting countries; the Dominions got the greater share of these quotas as a rule. The preferences granted to Dominion products in British markets were only partly extended to the countries of the dependent empire, that is, the Crown colonies and protectorates. This was because of existing trading agreements with foreign countries which tied the hands of Great Britain in this respect. The Ottawa agreement benefited the Dominions most because they had secured an outlet for their primary commodities such as wheat, meat and dairy products in the British market. At the same time they were able to build up their own manufacturing industries which in many ways competed directly with British exports of manufactured goods. The agreements on the other hand brought Great Britain a certain amount of goodwill and the economic link between the Dominions was an important factor in maintaining imperial unity. The goodwill created by these agreements stood Great Britain in good stead during the difficult days of World War II. On the other hand the Ottawa agreements were a restriction of world trade and as such open to criticism.

With the definition of their constitutional status and with the strengthening of the economic ties between them the position of the Commonwealth countries had been made stronger, but the 1930's were a very difficult period of world history. The aggression of the dictators in Europe and of Japan in the East created difficulties for the British Commonwealth as well as for other peace-loving nations in the world. The decline of the power of the League of Nations was generally lamented but nothing apparently could be done to stop it. There was no common foreign policy in the British Commonwealth and on certain important matters such as Abyssinia there were differences of opinions between the various Dominions as to the correct policy that should be followed. On the whole Great Britain's foreign policy during the period immediately before 1939 did not command respect among the Dominions but the

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events of 1938-9 which revealed to the full the utter unscrupulousness of Hitler and Mussolini rallied Commonwealth opinion to the side of Great Britain.

When war was declared in September 1939 by Great Britain the unity of this loosely organized political structure of the British Commonwealth was once again shown, much perhaps to the surprise of the rest of the world. Referring to this, Mr Winston Churchill said in 1943:

It was proved that the bonds which united us, though supple as elastic, are stronger than the tensest steel. Then it was proved that they were the bonds of the spirit and not of the flesh and thus could rise superior alike to the most tempting allurements of surrender and the harshest threats of doom. In that dark, terrific and also glorious hour we received from all parts of His Majesty's Dominions, from the greatest and from the smallest, from the strongest and the weakest, from the most modern to the most simple, the assurance that we would all go down or come through together.

Canada and South Africa declared war after approval by their Parliaments; Australia and New Zealand regarded themselves at war when Great Britain was. Only the Irish Free State remained neutral and her right to do this was respected to the limit. Once again an immense contribution was made by the Dominions to the common cause but during the war the increased independence of the Dominions was shown by the way they tended to take their own decisions and control their own forces.

Space does not permit more than a summary of the war effort of the Commonwealth countries. Canada mobilized more than a million men, while her industrial resources and mineral wealth were of the greatest assistance to the war effort. She also provided a link with the United States with whom she closely co-ordinated her war effort. In Europe her forces took a leading part in the campaigns in Sicily and Italy and in 1944 in the Normandy landings, eventually leading to the expulsion of the Germans from France and the Low Countries and the invasion of Germany itself. In the Union of South Africa there was considerable admiration for Hitler among the more fanatical Afrikaner section. Field-Marshal Smuts managed to triumph over this opposition and bring South Africa into the war on Great Britain's side. The South African

contribution was a considerable one although there was no compulsory enlistment. About 200,000 South African volunteers served in their army and air force on various fronts, notably in the campaigns against Italy in East Africa, against the Germans and Italians in North Africa and later on in Sicily and Italy. As in World War I Australian and New Zealand forces fought in the Mediterranean area, taking part in the campaigns in Egypt, Greece and Crete. From this area they were called back at the end of 1941 to defend their own countries now threatened by a large-scale Japanese invasion. The defence of Australasia was successfully achieved by the Anzac forces and the powerful naval and air forces sent to their aid by the U.S.A.

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THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE AND COMMON- WEALTH SINCE .

Since 1915 far-reaching changes have taken place in the British empire and Commonwealth. The Commonwealth has been enlarged by the inclusion of new members from Asia and Africa; the dependent empire of Crown colonies has gradually disappeared as one by one its members have moved through the stages of constitutional advance to responsible government with the final goal of independence within the Commonwealth. These changes have taken place gradually and in an orderly way; they are in accordance

Transformation of British Empire and Commonwealth

with the ideas expressed a century or more ago by such men as Lord Durham, Earl Grey and Earl Elgin that the colonies would develop as free communities towards nationhood and independence. Not only have they independence but something more, the membership of a community of nations freely associated together, the Commonwealth of Nations. This status was attained by India, Pakistan and Ceylon in 1947; by Ghana and the Federation of Malaya in 1957; by Nigeria in 1960; by Sierra Leone and Cyprus in 1961.

THE BASIS OF COMMONWEALTH MEMBERSHIP

We may examine briefly the ways in which the Commonwealth of Nations works. Membership is based on the idea of free association between independent nations; it is a willing association, freely undertaken. It is essentially an equal partnership in which size does not count. Each member's independence is unquestioned and there is a respect for private internal policies which goes very far indeed though there are limits as was shown by the rejection of South Africa's racial policies in 1961, with her consequent withdrawal from the Commonwealth.

THE BRITISH CROWN AND THE COMMONWEALTH

The links that bind the members together are various. At the highest level there is the recognition of the unifying power of the British Crown. This works in two ways. First, there are the older independent members such as Canada, Australia, New Zealand who owe allegiance to Queen Elizabeth II as their Queen and sovereign ruler; secondly, there are those members such as India, Pakistan and Ghana which have become sovereign independent republics. When India became a republic in 1949 she accepted King George VI as Head of the Commonwealth and on this basis and by the agreement of the other members continued her membership of the Commonwealth. India's recognition of the British Crown as Head of the Commonwealth has been followed by Pakistan, Ghana and Malaya. Other forces linking the Commonwealth are a common belief in parliamentary democracy, liberty,

The British Crown and the Commonwealth

the rule of law and freedom under that law. Economic ties are also important as the Commonwealth provides a great market in which the products of its members can be interchanged, often with the advantage of preferential customs duties. In the case of the older Commonwealth countries such as Canada, Australia and New Zealand the ties of common descent, language and culture are also important.

COMMONWEALTH CONSULTATION

How does the Commonwealth consult together? First, every member has a duty to consult and the right to be consulted. On matters of international importance there is a continuous exchange of information and of views, which is done chiefly by telegrams sent by the Commonwealth Relations Office in London or by the personal representations to and from the High Commissioners of the various Commonwealth countries. More important are the periodical conferences of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers: such meetings are the modern version of the former imperial conferences. Here in a free and friendly fashion vital problems of international and Commonwealth concern are discussed. In the words of Mr R. G. Menzies, Prime Minister of the Commonwealth of Australia: 'The whole purpose of a Prime Ministers' Conference is friendly consultation, not the conduct of a debate which ends in a victory for one or another. We have no formal agenda. We sit round the table and address each other with ease, frankness and friendliness.'

THE RIGHT OF SECESSION

Mention has been made of the free association of Commonwealth members. No coercion of any kind is exercised; thus Burma which became independent in 1947 was perfectly free to choose whether to join or to remain outside. Similarly those who wish to leave the Commonwealth may do so. The Irish Republic did this in April 1949 when it passed an Act abolishing any connection between itself and the British Crown. Although it was now a sovereign republic it did not follow the example of India and recognize King George VI as Head of the Commonwealth. The British government by the

Transformation of British Empire and Commonwealth

terms of the Ireland Act of June 1949 recognized that the Irish Republic had ceased to be part of H.M.'s dominions. But it may be argued that this secession was not completed since the Ireland Act states that the Irish Republic was not to be treated as a foreign country nor her citizens as aliens. The Irish Republic has also continued to enjoy the benefits of the preferential tariffs of the Commonwealth.

THE COMMONWEALTH AND SOUTH AFRICA, 1961

At the London conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in March 1961, the Union of South Africa, which was to become a sovereign independent republic on 31 May 1961, asked (as India, Pakistan and Ghana had done) for continued membership of the Commonwealth. The Asian and African members, and also Canada, strongly condemned South Africa's racial policies. The weight of opinion of the conference was that these policies were opposed to Commonwealth ideals and that unless they were modified South Africa would not be an acceptable member. Recognizing the hostility against South Africa and that her membership of the Commonwealth would cause embarrassment, the South African Premier Dr Verwoerd withdrew the application for continued membership. The departure in this way of one of the original members of the Commonwealth was much regretted and hopes were expressed that under changed conditions South Africa might one day return to the Commonwealth.

THE DEPENDENT EMPIRE AND WORLD WAR II

This included all those territories under the Colonial Office (or Commonwealth Relations Office in the case of the three South African protectorates) which had not yet attained internal self-government and control of their external relations.

In the first forty years of the twentieth century the political and economic development of the dependent empire moved more slowly than that of the Dominions. Down to 1939 there had been little political advance: there was a great range of dependencies

The Dependent Empire and World War II

varying from those which had representative or even semi-responsible government to those where the Governor's word was law. World War II came as a jolt and the dependent empire felt the impact in many different ways. The countries of South-east Asia such as Malaya, Singapore, Hong Kong, Burma and the Pacific Islands were occupied by the Japanese. Parts of British Africa were threatened by German and Italian invasion of that continent. Africa became an important part of the war effort. Her troops played a notable part in the campaigns in East Africa and also later in the Burma campaigns against the Japanese. The resources of Africa were important economically and were mobilized for the common cause. The British government explained the war aims to the peoples emphasizing that freedom and liberty were at stake and that, after the war, the colonies would share in a political advance to greater freedom and independence. While the war was in progress the British government promised self-government to India, Ceylon and Nigeria. By the end of the war steps had been taken to make the Legislative Councils of British Guiana, the Gold Coast, Northern Rhodesia and Trinidad more representative by increasing the number of unofficial members, nominated or elected. In the post-war period after 1946 the policy of the British government towards the dependent empire was clearly stated by the White Paper of 1948: 'The central purpose of British colonial policy is simple. It is to guide the colonial territories to responsible self-government within the Commonwealth in conditions that ensure to the people concerned both a fair standard of living and freedom from oppression from any quarter.'

GROWTH OF POLITICAL MOVEMENTS IN THE DEPENDENT EMPIRE

The initiative for this policy did not come from the British government alone; it was stimulated by the demands of nationalist leaders and political parties that began to appear in the dependent empire. It was natural enough for the educated minority in the dependencies who had been brought up on British political traditions to demand self-government. Nationalist leaders were

Transformation of British Empire and Commonwealth

most successful in West Africa where conditions were favourable for the movement for independence. These territories were not handicapped as elsewhere in the dependent empire by multi-racial or plural societies. In the Gold Coast and Nigeria there was reasonable prosperity based on an expanding economy; there was also a long tradition of British education in politics and law among an influential minority of Africans. Leaders arose like Danquah and Nkrumah in the Gold Coast, Azikiwe in Eastern Nigeria and Awolowo in Western Nigeria; they formed political parties, founded newspapers, began to demand extension of the vote, direct elections and a share of government by a seat in the Governor's Executive Council. This was a preliminary to gaining political experience which should eventually lead to the take-over of government and the end of rule under the Colonial Office.

THE STAGES OF CONSTITUTIONAL ADVANCE

The constitutional advance which has taken place in the dependencies has followed a definite pattern. By stages the Legislative Council has been given an unofficial elected majority of the representatives of the people which replaces the nominated official representatives of the government. Eventually these officials disappear entirely from the Legislative Council. During the movement towards a representative Legislative Council the vote will be extended and direct election will take the place of indirect election through electoral colleges. Changes will take place in the Governor's Executive Council to which are nominated unofficial members, who will thus gain experience of the actual work of government as contrasted with merely talking about it in the Legislative Council. The next step is for these unofficial members to become a majority in the Executive Council and to be elected to it by the Legislative Council, and when these elected members are associated with the formation of policy and the work of the various government departments to which they are attached, a ministerial system has appeared. The Ministers now assume responsibility for their departments and answer for their actions to the Legislative Council. When these ministers have gained a little more experience the

The Stages of Constitutional Advance

time has come for the *ex-officio* or official members to leave the Executive Council, and also eventually the Governor whose place will be taken by a Prime Minister. A cabinet system has now developed and the territory has reached responsible government as far as control of its internal affairs is concerned. Independence comes when the control of external affairs and defence passes to the government of the territory; membership of the Commonwealth lies ahead.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Political development of the dependent empire has been closely linked with economic development for it is essential that a politically advancing and eventually independent State should have the money for essential social and welfare projects. It must be remembered that in the past many of the dependencies of the empire never paid their way and were supported by financial help from the British taxpayer. It is therefore essential that the natural resources and labour of each territory shall be properly developed and organized with a view to maximum production of commodities for sale at home and abroad. Some territories are better off than others but most of them produce commodities which are saleable in the world markets. Thus Malaya has rubber and tin; Ghana, cocoa; East Africa, coffee and cotton; Nigeria, groundnuts; Tanganyika, sisal; Northern Rhodesia, copper.

The great economic change of the century in the dependent empire, especially in Africa, has been the movement from a subsistence economy to a developed money economy. In a subsistence economy the necessities of life are home grown by the occupiers of the land for themselves and their families; there is little or no money available for outside purchases. With the establishment of British rule and the increase in trade due to development of natural resources money became more and more necessary and important for the inhabitants who became increasingly aware of money and the desirable things it could buy; there were also the demands of government for taxes. Money could be earned by working in the mines and plantations set up by European enterprise or by peasant farmers producing cash crops for the

Transformation of British Empire and Commonwealth

market. With the steady growth of employment for a money wage the various governments of the dependent empire found it necessary to supervise conditions of work, especially of women and children. Labour departments were set up and in many cases the Legislative Councils enacted codes of labour laws. To organize labour and represent it in negotiations with employers trade unions were founded and many of these were based on British models.

COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT AND WELFARE ACTS

In this century and especially since 1945 Great Britain has shown herself ready to give large sums of money for the economic development and social welfare of the dependent empire. A start was made in 1929 when £1,000,000 was granted by Parliament for imperial development and welfare. After World War II much greater sums were voted: the 1949 Colonial Development Welfare Act increased the annual amount to be spent to £20,000,000. In 1955 an extra £80,000,000 was authorized, thus making available in the period 1955-60 about £120,000,000; in 1959 a further £95,000,000. The total amount available under the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts in the period 1946-64 is £315,000,000. Much of this money has been spent on education, health, medical and agricultural services; on roads, harbours and air-fields. Education in particular has made a great advance; thus Nigeria, which in 1900 had about 4000 children at school, had over 1,000,000 in 1952 and could look forward to universal literacy in the near future. Money for improved health, hygiene and medical services made possible intensive campaigns against malaria, leprosy and sleeping sickness.

THE COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION

Economic development as distinct from the provision of social and welfare services has been undertaken by the Colonial Development Corporation. Founded in 1948 it was given power to borrow up to £160,000,000 from the British Treasury but it was also expected to raise a proportion of the money it needed from local and private

The Colonial Development Corporation

resources. Its report for 1961 showed that since 1946 approximately £250,000,000 had been provided for development and research. The Corporation seeks to develop water resources for power and irrigation and to expand the production of foodstuffs and raw materials. Its actual projects are diverse in character, e.g. agricultural development, saw milling, electricity supply, cement and fertilizer manufacture, canning, hotels and mortgage facilities for housing projects. While it has had, and especially in its early projects, a number of failures, of recent years it has shown an operating surplus on its activities. Key projects such as the hydro-electricity undertakings at the Owen Falls in Uganda and the Kariba Dam on the Zambezi have received valuable support from the Corporation. Originally intended to provide help for the dependent territories only, its scope was extended in 1962 to include independent members of the Commonwealth, with the consequent change of its name to the Commonwealth Development Corporation.

POSTSCRIPT

The many constitutional changes since 1915 make it certain that the 1960's will see the end of the dependent colonial empire. The Commonwealth of Nations remains, enlarged by many of the newly independent States. While the future development of the Commonwealth cannot be precisely foretold it is likely and greatly to be hoped that this remarkable political grouping of independent nations freely associated together will remain a powerful force for peaceful progress for itself and the rest of a troubled world. In many ways the Commonwealth of Nations is a living proof that the British empire evolved from within itself sound principles of political development and progress based on the idea that freedom rather than coercion was the stronger political force.

The British empire as such has passed into the realm of history and by its historical achievements it must be judged. It is easy for critics whose memories are often conveniently short and whose view of history limited, to point to episodes of discreditable exploitation in the history of the British empire or any other empire. But a longer view must be taken and a fair balance struck.

Transformation of British Empire and Commonwealth

For over a century the British empire sought the welfare of those it governed and never forgot the idea of trusteeship; it also contained within itself the seeds of a forward movement for the political advancement and economic betterment of its subjects. Responsible leaders of the newly emergent and independent countries such as Nigeria, Ceylon, Tanganyika and Sierra Leone have clearly acknowledged what their countries owe to Great Britain. They recognize that through the work of generations of British statesmen, governors, administrators, judges, doctors, missionaries, teachers and traders they have been enabled, on the attainment of independence, to rule themselves and to organize their economic life. From Great Britain they have received and adapted to their own needs, government based on parliamentary democracy; the rule of law and the courts to uphold it; education which has brought them into the stream of Western knowledge on which is based the civilization of the State and society of today.

GLOSSARY

- ATTORNEY** One who is appointed by another person to act for him in his absence and who is given legal authority for this purpose.
- AUTONOMY** The right and power of self-government, as applied to a State, community and other social organizations.
- BULLION** Gold and silver in the mass, before they have been coined into money.
- CHARTERED COMPANY** A body of persons associated for the purposes of business, organized and trading under the terms of a charter granted them by the Crown which gives them certain legal rights and privileges.
- COMMANDO** A small mobile force recruited locally from the Boer male population.
- COMMON LAW** The unwritten law of the realm of England deriving from the customary laws of the Anglo-Saxon peoples, embodied in the decisions of the judges of the Common Law Courts, and distinct from written or statute law.
- CONTRABAND** Those goods which by the laws of a particular State may not be imported or exported, bought or sold: goods which neutral ships may not carry during war to any of the countries at war.
- DEPENDENCY** A territory such as a Crown colony whose internal government and external affairs are controlled by the imperial government.
- DHOW** A fast-sailing Arab ship with a lateen or 'fore and aft' sail on one or two masts.
- DYARCHY** Literally, 'rule by two': where the powers of government within a State are exercised by two distinct elements.
- EXECUTIVE** That branch of government which performs the administrative processes necessary to give effect to the laws enacted by Parliament, or to the decisions of the Courts.
- FACTORY** A trading post established in a foreign country by a chartered company. A factor is an agent or dealer employed to sell goods or merchandise.
- FEDERATION** The formation of a larger political unit by the closer political association of those States who have agreed to form such a union.
- FREEHOLDER** One who owns land free from any burdensome obligations to a superior landlord.
- GUARDAS COSTAS** (Spanish) Coastguards, revenue officers.
- HABERDASHERY** Small drapery, ribbons, tapes and silks.

Glossary

- INDENTURED SERVANT** One who has bound himself by a legal deed or indenture to serve a master for a certain term of years.
- INNS OF COURT** Societies of lawyers (Inner Temple, Middle Temple, Lincoln's Inn, and Gray's Inn) which have the exclusive right of admitting a student to practise as a barrister.
- INTERLOPER** An unauthorized trader who trespasses on the trade monopoly of a chartered company.
- JAGIR** A grant of an area of land and its revenues made by the Moghul emperor to an individual, for example, Robert Clive, for meritorious services.
- JUDICIARY** That branch of government responsible for the trial and determination of civil and criminal cases; the Judges collectively.
- LEGISLATURE** The law-making body of a State; variously named, for example, Parliament, National Assembly, etc.
- LETTERS PATENT** A document sealed with the Great Seal of England giving authority to an individual or corporation to do or enjoy something they otherwise could not. The name is derived from the form of the document which is open with the seal affixed (Latin: 'litterae patentes' = open letters).
- MACHETE** A broad-bladed cutting and slashing tool.
- MILITIA** Local military forces formed from the citizens of a country for service in an emergency.
- MONOPOLY** Exclusive possession or control of some commodity, right or privilege, especially in trade or manufacture.
- MORTGAGE** A mortgage is created when a debtor (mortgagor) transfers property to a creditor (mortgagee) as security for a debt owing to, or for money advanced by, that creditor.
- 'OFFICIAL MEMBER'** A member of the Governor's Executive Council or of the Legislative Council of a Crown Colony who holds his seat *ex officio*, that is, by right of office held.
- ORDINANCE** Law made by the Governor of a Crown Colony with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council.
- PAPAL BULL** An edict or document issued by the Pope containing a decision or pronouncement on some important matter.
- PREFERENTIAL DUTIES** Custom duties levied at a lower rate than usual on the imports from countries to whom preference has been given, for example, by a mother-country to her colonies.
- PRIVATEER** A privately-owned armed ship, which, under authority from the ruler of its country of origin, attacked and captured the shipping of hostile nations.
- PROTECTORATE** A territory that has been brought under British control, but not annexed, either by proclamation or by treaty with the native ruler.

Glossary

- QUIT RENT** A small nominal rent paid to the Crown or proprietary lord by a freeholder, whereby the latter goes 'quit and free' of all other services and liabilities.
- REFERENDUM** The referring of an important constitutional issue to the electors for decision by their direct vote.
- SALTPETRE** Potassium nitrate; one of the ingredients of gunpowder.
- SUZERAINTY** Sovereignty or paramount authority over another State.
- TITHES** A tenth part of the crops and livestock, allotted from earliest times for the support of the Church and its clergy.
- 'UNOFFICIAL MEMBER'** An inhabitant or resident of a Crown Colony who has been nominated or elected to the Governor's Executive Council or to the Legislative Council in a representative capacity.
- VERNACULAR** The language of the common people.
- VICEROY** One who exercises the sovereign's authority in an imperial province.
- YEOMAN** A small farmer owning the freehold of the land he cultivates.

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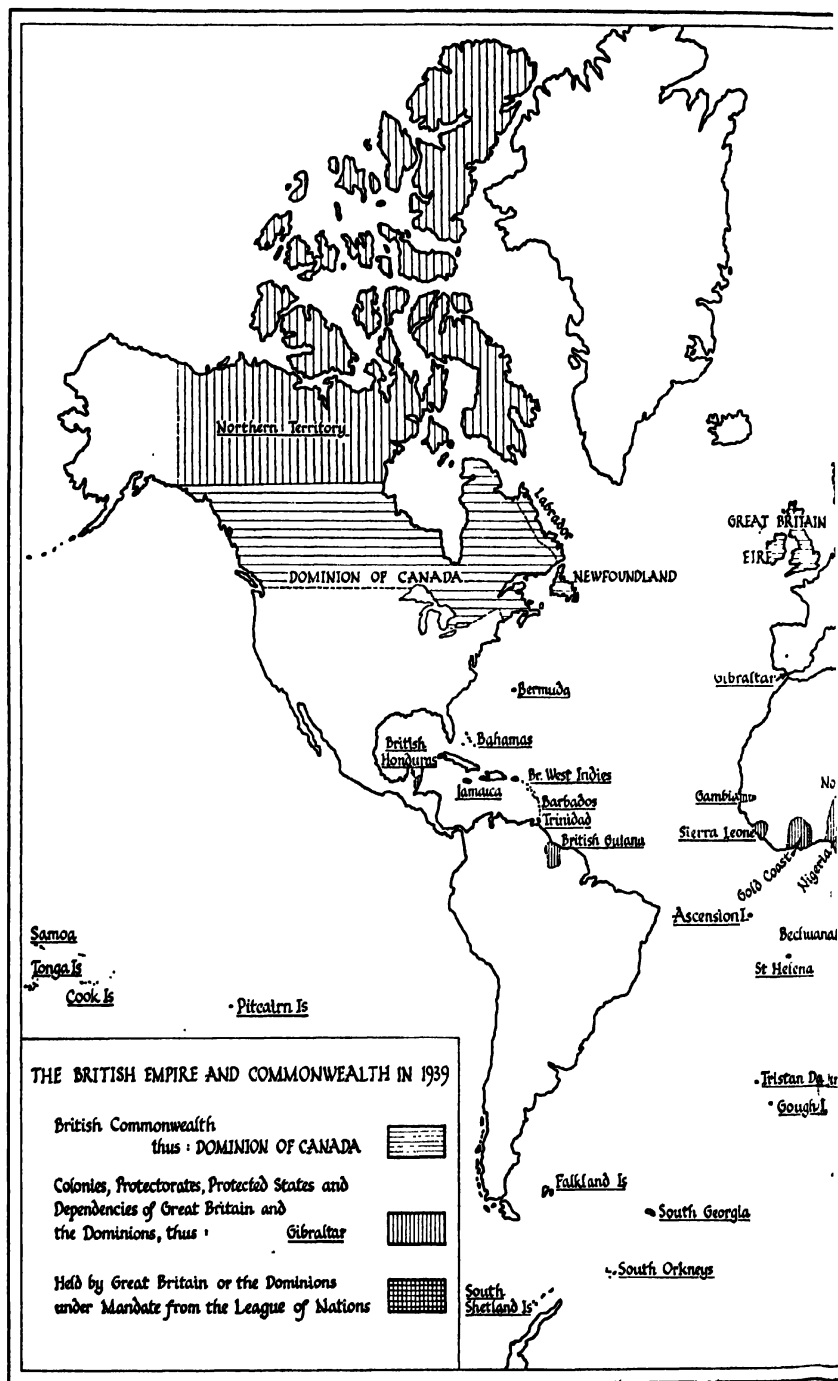
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MAP 16. THE BRITISH EMPIRE

